The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXIX NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1924 No. 3089

Carnegie Branch

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 273

EDITORIALS:

The Parties and Our Foreign Policy 276
War in the Textbooks 277
Black Voices 278
Sport Is Elected 278

OUR NEXT PRESIDENT: LA FOLLETTE OR WHEELER. By Gilson Gardner 279

NEW MORALS FOR OLD:

Dominant Sexes. By M. Vaerting 280

WHAT YOUR CHILD LEARNS. By Melville J. Herskovits and Malcolm M. Willey 282

LIBERALISM IN THE COLLEGES. By Paul Blanshard 284

LA FOLLETTE AND STANDARD OIL. By William Hard 286

IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 287

CORRESPONDENCE 288

DEW AND BRONZE. By Robert P. Tristram Coffin 290

BOOKS:

Art and Jazz. By Thomas Craven 290
Wizards and High Priests. By H. L. Mencken 290
The Voice of Mercy. By Norman Thomas 291
Music More than Tonal Fragrance. By Henry T. Finck 292
Dies Irae. By Emil Lengyel 292
Irving Babbitt Continues. By C. Hartley Grattan 293
Books in Brief 293

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:

Rumanian Oil and Foreign Money. By Emil Lengyel 295
Communism in the *Evening Post* 296

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor

Associate Editors

LEWIS S. GANNETT

ARTHUR WARNER JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

FREDA KIRCHWEY, Managing Editor MARK VAN DOREN, Literary Editor

ISABEL LA MONTE, Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors

ANATOLE FRANCE JOHN A. HOBSON NORMAN THOMAS
ROBERT HERRICK H. L. MENCKEN CARL VAN DOREN
LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Subscription Rates: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: Nation, New York. Chicago Office: 38 So. Dearborn Street. British Agent for Subscriptions and Advertising: E. Thurtle, M.P., 36, Temple Fortune Hill, N.W. 11, England.

RAMSAY MacDONALD made a noble and constructive speech at Geneva on security and disarmament. He sees clearly the folly of large armaments, the impossibility of securing any country's safety by the old system of secret international intrigue which went by the name of military alliances, holy or otherwise, and he is right in saying that if Europe continues to carry on as now another war will be inevitable. Therefore, he puts his hope in arbitration and the League of Nations, and his splendid trust and faith in the League are worth infinitely more to its advocates in this country than the candidacy of John W. Davis. We wish only that he might take a leaf out of the book of Denmark and proceed to do some disarming on his own account without reference to others. But we suppose that as long as the present dangerous French militarism continues it will be impossible for him to swing his countrymen to that idea. M. Herriot, on his part, spoke well for arbitration and for the admission of Germany to the League of Nations, and then fell back on one of those high-sounding but utterly deceptive phrases (which continue to enchain mankind), "Justice and force must go hand in hand." When will the world learn that it is only by the elimination of force that peace can be made secure? Fortunately Lord Parmoor was there nobly to voice the sentiment that small countries will never get equality of treatment if the effort to get it is to be founded upon military force. Sooner or later men will see that the disarmers are the only practical people dealing with the subject of peace.

THE PEACE RESOLUTION adopted at Geneva before the British and French premiers left is thus far only the expression of a wish and a hope. The real work remains to be done—the discovery of a method which will reconcile the fears of M. Herriot with the vision of Mr. MacDonald in a workable method of world arbitration. This is a task of fearful difficulty, but the very willingness of discordant Europe to face it is a genuine reason for rejoicing. When one compares the atmosphere at the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations this year with that which prevailed in 1923 the difference in that alone is a reason for optimism. When one notes the progress toward European accord in the few months since the days of Poincaré and Baldwin he can believe a plan for disarmament and arbitration may be devised which will prove solid ground upon which to summon a world conference. Let us hope there is a peace spirit in the world which can be moved to as great a fervor and devotion and sacrifice as that of the war spirit.

THE WAY TO DISARM is to disarm. Little Denmark shows the way, for her Prime Minister is to introduce a bill in Parliament in the middle of October wiping out the army and navy and providing merely for an armed constabulary. We are inclined to rank this as one of the greatest international happenings of the year. Of course, by every imperialist and militarist teaching, such as is inculcated by our army and navy officials, Denmark is craven and cowardly and is ready to relinquish its national existence at the threat of an invader. To us this decision is the wisest step that Denmark could take, and the example ought to be followed at once by the other Scandinavian countries, by Belgium and Holland. It is preposterous for a nation like Belgium to maintain an army. It can have only three probable enemies in the future: France, England, or Germany. Against any one of them it would be helpless if it came to battle. Not by mobilizing its entire man-power could it hold its position for more than a day or so. The result of the war with Germany proved that. So why waste money and deprive its industrial life of hundreds of thousands of workmen for nothing? If Denmark remains unarmed and unafraid, and is then attacked, it will have an infinitely greater power of appeal to the moral opinion of the world than if it were to throw away 40,000 or 50,000 of its citizens in a fruitless struggle.

WHILE MR. HUGHES REFUSES to take any official part in the European settlement, individual Americans are accepting various responsible positions allocated to citizens of the United States by the London protocol. Owen D. Young is acting temporarily as Agent-General for Reparations. S. P. Gilbert, former Under Secretary of the Treasury, will succeed Mr. Young. Gates W. McGarrah, chairman of the Mechanics and Metals National Bank of New York, will be the American member of the governing board of the new German bank of issue. Both Mr. Young and Mr. McGarrah are men with the long experience and usual connections that one would expect. But the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

future Agent-General for Reparations is a man of 32 who gained most of his experience during the war. The record of each of these Americans is that of a successful and respected banker. They are experts in money and presumably will keep their eyes and minds on economic and monetary reconstruction in Europe. The machinery of the Dawes plan has begun to turn, but slowly at present, as they are getting up steam—the steam of confidence—preparatory to launching the 800 million gold-mark loan. Germany has made one payment of 20 million gold marks and as we go to press is due to make another. The French on their part are reducing the occupation of the Ruhr.

MAINE'S EARLY ELECTION of her Governor has long been regarded as a useful political barometer, and this year the Klan issue added interest. The Democratic candidate came out flatfootedly against the K. K. K., while the Republican nominee was understood to be friendly to the order. Superficially, therefore, the election of Ralph O. Brewster, Republican, by a majority of more than 30,000 votes, looks favorable both for Mr. Coolidge and the Klan. But the Republican majority in the gubernatorial election of 1920 was 65,000. Is the drop of more than 50 per cent due to anti-Republicanism or anti-Klanism? Probably some of both. Republicanism ought to be able to hold its own in Maine if anywhere in the country. Farmers there have not been subject to the depression that has hurt the West, while the State is also almost untouched by the severe slump in the textile trades that is felt elsewhere in New England. Despite Mr. Coolidge's rosy words in regard to the prosperity of labor, the financial editors tell us that one reason for the recent passing of the dividend on the common stock of the American Woolen Company (engaged in a most highly protected industry) was to justify a cut in wages later. The cotton trades are even less happy. All seventeen mills of the Consolidated Textile Corporation are closed, and one of its subsidiaries has just defaulted on the interest on its bonds.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE, who on Labor Day said "We have had our revolution and our reforms," continued his gospel of stand-pattism by a speech in Baltimore on September 6 in which he attacked the proposal sponsored by Senator La Follette for an amendment to the Constitution making it possible for Congress by a two-thirds vote to validate legislation overthrown by the Supreme Court. The proposal is admittedly drastic, but the situation calls for nothing less. Had the Supreme Court limited itself to strictly judicial powers—as its creators undoubtedly intended and as similar bodies in other countries with written constitutions are doing today—it would deserve Mr. Coolidge's eulogy as a defender of the rights of the minority and the liberty of the individual. But the Supreme Court has in evolution become a third legislative body, and its concern for many years has been for property rights rather than for human rights. As a legislature it has become fearfully dangerous because it is an appointive body made up of nine lawyers with a life tenure. Progressive legislation is impossible as long as it exercises its present powers. Mr. Coolidge is one of those timid and tory souls who had he been alive in 1787 would have opposed such a novel and revolutionary scheme of government as that proposed by the Constitution behind which he now takes frightened refuge.

WITH A CERTAIN GUSTO, which is natural if not wholly justified, the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* comments on a threatened lynching in the streets of New York City. A man was barely saved from hanging at the hands of a mob infuriated by his wanton assault on his own wife and daughter. The pleasure with which the Richmond paper records this incident is obviously born of sectional pride; the lynching spirit had flared up in the very "home of more of the professional and political South-baiters than any other city in the world." And it takes particular delight in pointing out that on the same day the Richmond Chamber of Commerce was adopting resolutions expressing its sorrow at the death of a colored citizen of Richmond and its feeling that "his passing is a heavy blow to this city in which he had spent his entire life." Far from resenting this display of scorn for Northern lawlessness and pride at Southern tolerance, *The Nation* is happy to record it. The more Southern patriotism comes to be identified with an effort to prove the South humane and law-abiding, the better for all of us. The spread of the Klan has shown how contagious militant lawlessness can become in the North and South alike. Perhaps a spirit of pugnacious insistence on fair play will spread as far and as fast.

> Regardless of age, occupation, or present physical condition, you are expected to answer the Roll Call on that day exactly as if you were called into active service. Each nurse enrolled in our service appreciates that its primary purpose is a reserve to the Army and Navy Nurse Corps, and therefore should be prepared to answer a call of this sort whenever it may come. It does not mean war, but it does mean preparedness and efficiency.

THUS THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE of the Red Cross (which is supposedly an international and humanitarian body) called its members to the colors on September 12 to take part in a defense test (which was to be, we were told, neither militaristic nor warlike in any way). The letter of which the quotation is a part was addressed to all the Red Cross nurses in the country through the local committees. Thus the war-time organization of the Red Cross has again been called into being, and the war-time spirit, too, so that the nurses may forget that all suffering humanity is their charge. They may instead stand, if not for war, for "preparedness and efficiency" and realize that their primary allegiance is to the army and navy. A letter like this throws light both on the organization that sends it and on the real purpose and spirit of Defense Day.

THE CIVIL STRIFE IN CHINA is a recurrence on a menacing scale of the little private wars between generals that have broken out spasmodically for three or four years past and kept the country in a ferment. In a pond just big enough for one frog two frogs have been croaking defiantly for some time, Governor Lu Yung-hsiang of Chekiang province and Governor Chi Hsieh-yuan of Kiangsu province. They have now decided to fight it out. Chekiang and Kiangsu, being adjoining provinces and by their position commanding the wealthy city of Shanghai and the strategic mouth of the Yangtze, the stake is big. In addition, Chi Hsieh-yuan is allied to Wu Pei-fu, the leader of one of the two big military groups, while Lu Yung-hsiang is allied to the opposing group, headed by Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian dictator whom Wu Pei-fu defeated two years ago and who since has been smarting for revenge. No issues, no matters of policy are involved. It

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is a personal struggle between two groups of generals, all of whom have been equally pestilential. As we go to press news comes that Chang Tso-lin has declared war upon the Peking Government supported by Wu Pei-fu and that Sun Yat-sen may try to assist the Manchurian commander in a campaign against their common foe. That may widen the trouble. Unhappy China!

WITH THE SURRENDER and confession of Boris Savinkov passes the last active and important present antagonist of the Soviet Government within its borders. Savinkov had an advantage over many of the other adversaries of the Soviet Government; his name was surrounded with the romantic glamor of the old-time revolutionary conspirator. But his career as a counter-revolutionary must have convinced him that the methods of the conspirator have outlived their day in Russia. It was his fatal mistake, as well as the mistake of the other active opponents of the Soviet Government, that he viewed the Russian Revolution as a plot of a few power-loving individuals and not as a movement of masses. Notwithstanding his popularity and strong personality, his was but a small following of doubtful character which only succeeded in implicating him in the anti-Jewish pogroms perpetrated by the bands of Bulak-Balakhovich. He could carry on his activities at all only by the grace of foreign enemies of the Soviet Union, and from his confession it appears that persons in high official places in France, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and even America lent their aid to his terrorist conspiracies.

EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT MUSSOLINI has a past, not a dark past but a bright red one. And so it is not startling to read such a quotation, for instance, as the London *Labor Leader* recently printed from a speech delivered by him in 1910 on the subject of "Patriotism."

> The Republicans defend the fatherland. We rise superior to it and deny it. The proletariat has no fatherland; nor in truth has the bourgeoisie. In case of war we Socialists will not go to the front—we will raise insurrection within our borders. The proletariat must no more shed its blood for the Moloch of patriotism.

But we are rather more interested in the recent past of this ex-Republican-Socialist who has now become little "Cousin to the King" by virtue of receiving the Collar of the Annunciata. As lately as 1919, when Mussolini was a leading Fascist but was neither dictator and Premier of Italy nor in any way related to the King, he spoke these words:

> The Senate must be abolished—we demand that this feudal survival disappear! We demand proportional representation! Faced with the question "Monarchists or Republicans?" we reply from henceforth "Republicans." We utterly oppose all ideas of dictatorship. We demand the confiscation of riches ill-gotten during the war.

A statement like this, in the light of what has and what has not happened under this man's rule, will be recalled long after his earlier indiscretions are forgotten.

WHILE MUSSOLINI'S PAST is being disinterred and aired, we are given the privilege of gazing into the future of another of Italy's patriots—Gabriele d'Annunzio. This gentleman and poet, who has fought and flown, defied and ruled, lived and loved under the white light of his own pitiless publicity, is now retiring into the silences. He will live henceforth withdrawn from the world. He will not answer mail, the telephone, nor the door-bell. He has dogs that "bite well" and he will put up no signs to "Beware!" No matter how the world clamors at his bolted gate, no matter how it misses and needs and wants him—it can't have him, and may as well submit to an unhappy future of muddling along somehow by itself. We shrink from the prospect; but none the less we cannot help admiring the way d'Annunzio retires. Somehow, without effort, he manages to make more noise in closing his door against the world than most men would in winning a battle.

ONE DIFFERENCE between a monarchy and a republic is that in a monarchy royalty is without honor, while in a republic it is dear to the heart of every citizen, especially the humblest. These are sad days for kings, and probably the lot of them would be glad to die off if only the proletariat would let them. But it won't—anyhow in America. The Prince of Wales may go about England almost unnoticed, but he may not move a foot in America without having the event elaborately photographed and described. Incidentally his presence brings publicity to many persons who could not otherwise get it—and this is one excellent reason for making a great deal of him. The wholly hit-and-miss character of most newspaper publicity has always interested us, and it has been seldom better illustrated than in connection with the Prince's visit. Take the boxing instructor of His Royal Highness, for instance. One would say that the American public was not panting to see his photograph. Yet because in sparring with royalty he was touched lightly on the mouth, his picture appeared on the front page of the New York *World* under the caption "Biffed by Prince." Well, who wouldn't be biffed by the Prince to achieve such fame? Indeed what democratic American wouldn't be biffed by the Prince merely for the pleasure of the biff?

TO THE *SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN* upon its one hundredth birthday our heartiest congratulations. During that long period it has never failed to uphold the highest traditions of American journalism; at times it has exercised an almost unequaled ethical influence upon our political life, notably during the fateful years from 1898 to 1902 when we took our first plunges into imperialism and overseas conquests. The explanation of its high-mindedness and refusal to stoop to the tricks of yellow journalism is to be found in the Bowles family, which founded it, and has ever since carried it on, ever placing principle above profit. We believe this record to be unique in American journalism. Established by Samuel Bowles and carried on by his son and grandson of the same name and now by a great-grandson, Richard Hooker, the *Republican* has long been the model of what a newspaper in a medium-sized city ought to be. More than that it has contributed enormously to the cultural development of its community as well as to the ideals of the American republic. Its story is not only one of idealistic striving; its existence has been made possible only by the most extraordinary devotion of the three Samuel Bowles, who often actually had to count every postage stamp in order to keep it going. For decades the *Republican* saw eye to eye with *The Nation* upon almost every issue of the day. If we regret that of late years it has followed the popular hue and cry, we must none the less recognize gratefully its honesty, its sincerity, and the unfailing cleanness of its columns.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Parties and Our Foreign Policy

FROM an old and valued friend of *The Nation* comes the following letter explaining why he cannot support Senator La Follette:

> While La Follette is at the present time undoubtedly the one outstanding personality capable of leading a movement for the development of a third and more progressive party—more progressive, I mean, than the Democratic Party is likely to become in the near future—and while I very decidedly belong in the progressive ranks, I cannot, in the present emergency in world affairs, support a man who is so completely dominated by the isolationist ideal for our country as La Follette is. In my opinion, the great and urgent issue before us—more important than the plight of the Western farmers or any purely American economic question—is the relation of the United States to the European situation. That situation, for which we are largely responsible, cannot be mended without our active and responsible participation in world affairs. The control of our foreign affairs by a man or a party which sets himself or itself subbornly athwart the international movement would, I believe, be a greater menace to our national well-being as well as to that of the rest of the world than would the triumph of either of the two old parties.
>
> We can put up for four or eight or a dozen years more with the unstable and unjust economic conditions against which Senator La Follette is campaigning, but we cannot, without the gravest peril of world disaster, put up for even one quadrennium with the present chaos in European economic and political affairs.
>
> May I add that I am not unmindful of the fine words on our foreign policy contained in the platform adopted by the Progressive Convention held at Cleveland a few weeks ago. If I ignore these it is because in this, as in the pronouncements of the Republican and Democratic conventions, I attach little importance to these vote-catching declarations of policy. In every one of these cases the real platform is the man nominated.

We are happy to print these views not only because of the sincerity and honesty with which they are held but because they reflect an angle of the political situation which is bothering a good many people. Some we know are supporting Davis because he is for the League of Nations, although they oppose him at every other point. Others are going to vote for Coolidge, holding their noses as they do so, for the curious reason that they are sure nothing at all will happen in foreign affairs if Mr. Coolidge remains in office. His steadfast opposition to the League also fills them with satisfaction. The awkward gestures he has made about another disarmament conference make them feel that he has not got it in him to achieve anything.

Now, the editors of *The Nation* and many others, who are as eager as the writer of the above letter to have the United States point the way out of the European mess but are opposed to any entangling alliances, are supporting Mr. La Follette, not merely because of the foreign plank in his platform but precisely because "the real platform is the man nominated." Not only is he his own platform, but his principles in dealing with other countries are attested by years of public utterance. He has repeatedly declared himself against our financial imperialism and our bloody aggressions in the Caribbean; he has laid it down that if he is elected the flag will not follow the investor and he will not permit the prostitution of the State Department as at present into a "trading-post" for large American corporations seeking oil and other concessions abroad. So far as the American hemisphere is concerned our present policy toward our sister republics is driving us and them straight on the rocks. A right attitude here is perhaps even more important for our moral and spiritual welfare and the safety of the republics to the south of us than any adequate solution of the European entanglements.

As to the European situation, Mr. La Follette was there a year ago and saw conditions for himself. We do not believe that he is an absolute isolationist, and his record proves that he would be ardent in espousing any reasonable plan for disarmament. He would oppose our immediate, unreserved entrance into the League of Nations if he were President—wisely and honorably, in our judgment. But as for forgetting all about Europe, that is impossible for any President. So it comes down, aside from the League, to the question of the *spirit* with which Mr. Davis or Mr. Coolidge or Mr. La Follette would approach our international problems—in other words, we get back, like our correspondent, to the personality in the case.

How important that is, the case of Ramsay MacDonald shows. As we write he, speaking at Geneva, is the greatest figure in the Western political world. He put through the final Dawes agreement without having a single card in his hand that was not in Baldwin's or Lloyd George's. It was the spirit of the man that counted, and what he achieved was defined and illustrated by his actually putting the hands of the French delegates into those of the Germans. In our judgment, if Mr. Davis were President he would approve, as did his mentor, Woodrow Wilson, our conquest of the Caribbean by bankers and bullets—we can recall no utterance of his to the contrary—and he would probably carry on the Hughes policies as to oil and foreign investments. In European affairs he would likewise take the prevailing big-business views; his administration would most assuredly play the game the way the bankers and politicians have wished it played since they tricked or lied their peoples into the war. He has never had the vision to advocate cancellation by us of the debts of the Allied governments in return for a reasonable reparation policy and the reduction of military budgets, although this is our greatest opportunity for constructive action. Inhibitions without end would be his. Mr. La Follette would take office as free as Ramsay MacDonald—did not *both oppose the war and all its evil works?*

As for Mr. Davis's personal views on Europe, it must be recognized that they differ radically from those of most of the other leaders of his party. The Democratic platform, it will be remembered, declares for a referendum on the League, a proposal which Newton D. Baker denounced as a mockery and a sham because no such referendum could be taken without waiting for years to create the machinery. He called upon the spirit of Wilson to confound the authors of the plank which he termed the betrayal of everything Wilson stood for and as sounding the deathknell of the League. Granting again our correspondent's view as to the worthlessness of planks, it is a fact that hardly any of the Democratic party leaders care a hang about the League or want to go into it, and although platforms may be disregarded personal opposition cannot be.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If anybody votes for Mr. Davis, believing his election would mean the immediate entrance of the United States into the League, he is throwing away his ballot.

The simple question for any voter to answer is: Do you believe in the kind of conventional international politics which Mr. Davis has played and that all his professional and business associates favor? If anyone wishes for the spirit of human brotherhood—with the emphasis on human as opposed to property rights which Robert M. La Follette typifies—he must needs vote for the Senator from Wisconsin.

War in the Textbooks

IN another column we publish a startling analysis of three popular textbooks on civics used in American high schools. On questions of immigration, of property and the rights of labor, of Russia and radicalism children in our schools are being fed the stuff that Rotarians are made of. In place of the empty formalisms that used to make up the ordinary school-civics courses, we now find an amazing collection of vicious prejudices and thick unashamed propaganda. School-children are being taught that private property and democracy are identical; that labor parties are bad; that most unions are dangerously revolutionary or destructive; that our leading industrialists are benefactors of society; and that foreigners are suspicious characters.

In connection with this it is interesting to compare the results of a careful if rather mathematical study of the treatment of war in our school histories which has been published by the Association for Peace Education. The work was done by three university professors: John Monroe and Ralph L. Henry of Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota, and J. M. McElhannon of Baylor College, Belton, Texas. Twenty-four standard textbooks and twenty-four popular supplementary readers were chosen for analysis, and the results were classified according to the actual amount of space in text and illustration given to wars, to "neutral" material, and to peace. Following that quantitative measurement was a carefully guarded estimate of the influence of the war material. To weigh this most important but more imponderable factor the authors of the study rated the books according to certain levels of presentation:

> (1) A strongly emotional treatment which would create an intense desire in the children to participate in the experiences depicted; (2) an attractive coloring of the material which, though it might not stir the emotions to any marked degree, would make the young readers think that war was a most worthy undertaking; (3) a straightforward presentation of the bare events which would produce little effect upon children; (4) a true statement of the horrors of war—the suffering, the destruction, the carnage, and the bestiality which would lead children to shun the thought of war.

The figures resulting from the tests are difficult to correlate. In several cases books containing a high percentage of war material have few or comparatively harmless war pictures; and some of these war-filled texts are rated among the less harmful from the point of view of emphasis and effect. But some general conclusions are inescapable. The war material in the textbooks ranged from 93.5 per cent to 19.1 per cent, but over half the books give more than 30 per cent of their space to this one subject. The authors conclude, however, that

> There is a slight tendency toward improvement in the newer texts, although of the books with the highest war percentage three out of the first six were published since the entry of the United States into the World War. Of the eight with the lowest war percentage, however, all but one have been written since 1917. The books with the highest percentage of peace content are all comparatively recent books. The surprising fact is that only three books on the list include more than 3.5 per cent of direct peace material.

In the supplementary readers, written for the most part in "story-book" style and eagerly absorbed by the children, the proportion of war material runs from 100 per cent to zero. But the first five on the list, including such old favorites as "Boys of '76" and Roosevelt's "Winning of the West," all average above 48 per cent. This, the compilers of the figures believe, is wholly disproportionate with the facts of our history:

> Leaving out of consideration the colonial warfare between the whites and Indians, the United States has in the course of five wars been engaged in military operations a total of only seventeen years, or only 12 per cent of the 148 years elapsed since 1775.

The study of the total effect of these texts and of their probable influence on children was done with particular care, and the names of the leading war-mongers among these books is of interest. Of the history texts the five worst, in order of their virulence, are as follows: Guitteau's "Our United States—A History," Montgomery's "The Leading Facts of American History," Mace and Bogardus's "History of the United States," Garner and Hensen's "Our Country's History," and McMaster's "Brief History of the United States." "Of the more up-to-date books," says the report, "Beard and Bagley, and Bassett give war the sanest treatment. These authors frequently have pictured war as it really is. . . . The five worst offenders were published since 1917."

Among the supplementary readers the five most warlike were these: La Salle's "Short Stories of New America," Coffin's "Boys of '76," Guerber's "Story of the Thirteen Colonies," Roosevelt's "Winning of the West," Southworth's "Builders of Our Country." The report states that all these books are "wholly bad from the standpoint of war," although "The Winning of the West" sometimes pictures war truly. But at least fifteen of the twenty-four readers are admirably free from "false laudation or mock heroics."

The authors of this study make a few suggestions for changing this unwholesome mental fodder:

> War is not innate. It is produced by our concepts and by what we teach our children. And one of the worst offenders on earth is the Western Caucasian. War is a useless relic of savagery. It is the most wasteful of all enterprises and it becomes increasingly wasteful as society becomes more complex. Real war is brutal, bloody, cruel; there is little noble or worthy of emulation about it. The time for teaching the truth about it has come. Educators and historians have too long poisoned the mind of the oncoming generations with their glorification of war. The future demands a type of history that will not exaggerate the place of war, which will show its true nature, and which will develop in children the will to peace. Parents should demand such histories, school boards should instal them, publishers should issue them, and historians should prepare them.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Black Voices

IN Richmond there is a society of colored men who are held together by their common desire to preserve the religious songs of their race, the "spirituals" which, long regarded as a kind of curiosity, are coming more and more to be viewed as one of the eminent contributions of this continent to the arts. In Charleston there is a society of white men and women who have the same purpose, but who further specialize by trying to recover songs which may have flourished in some particular community or even on some particular plantation without ever having happened to catch the general ear and so to be carried throughout the country, as has happened to certain of the songs which, for that reason, everybody knows. By such means the dignity of the religious songs of the Negroes is emphasized, but there still remains the need of some adequate study of this fascinating body of literature, which now drifts about on the winds of chance memory, running the risk of being lost in competition with the louder and ruder melodies of the current era.

Whoever makes that study will rarely be able to trace one of the spirituals to its actual author. The singers are lost in the songs. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, must have been tentatively composed, by Negroes whose emotions took this outlet, and must have tried their fortune with the race at large. Only some of them met with the kind of response which perpetuated them. The others fell and died as sounds die when there are no ears with the sympathy to understand them.

The surviving songs are therefore, in a true sense, the possession, if not the positive creation, of the race. If they do not bear witness to the talents of individuals, to the private impulses of the composers, to their methods and schools of song, they bear abundant witness to the deeper, impersonal feelings of the race which nourished them.

They testify, naturally, most of all to the sadness which the race felt in its bondage. "Nobody knows the troubles I bear," the burden of one of them, might almost be the burden of all of them. The black voices lifted up in these songs came from throats which ached. Yet with what pathetic faith they clung to the hope of consolation which their religion promised them! This world was full of grief, but just beyond it lay the Jordan, over which a sweet chariot might at any moment swing to carry the slave to a long and joyous home. Shouting salvation, he would enter the promised land, where he would have shoes and be permitted to walk all over God's heaven. Though his conception of paradise was of the simplest, it was utterly sincere. It was shaped by a profound need and spoken without self-consciousness.

At the root of the spirituals lay what Miguel Unamuno has called the tragic sense of life in men and in peoples, one of the great recurrent notes in all the wisdom and all the music of the folk everywhere. For this reason, perhaps, these songs persist while the brassy compositions of the white evangelists go their way to unremembered and well-deserved oblivion. The dominant race, spurring itself to effervescent optimism, could not listen to the undertones of human life, but negligently left them to its bondsmen. But in the long run it will be the bondsmen whose voices are heard.

Sport Is Elected

WE are in the midst of a presidential campaign. If we are as political a people as we are believed to be, our thoughts and energies should be concentrated upon candidates, issues, and possibilities. Yet judging from the newspapers one reads and the conversation one overhears, the people are more occupied with the chances in the forthcoming World's Series in baseball; with the performances of the celebrated French horse Epinard, now running on American tracks; with the polo match between American and British teams; with the international lawn-tennis contests for the Davis Cup; with the Firpo-Wills fight; with the airplane flight around the world; or even with the man who traveled from Holland to Marseilles, turning somersaults all the way. Rarely before have so many exciting events been taking place all at once. We shall have to wait until election day to learn the fate of La Follette, Davis, and Coolidge. But whatever happens to them, we may say already—and with entire confidence—that the popular vote has been cast in favor of sport. It has been seated on the American throne. It has been clothed with almost dictatorial powers.

Of all the sporting events of the season the world's flight was, of course, incomparably the greatest. Perhaps one ought not to speak of it as a sporting event. It was more than that, to be sure. It was a splendid feat of intelligence, of skill, and of daring. Yet flying around the world, although now proved to be possible, is far from practicable. The success of our army fliers was made possible only by almost constant attendance and assistance. Extensive repairs were made to the airplanes, engines were changed, the machines were almost built over in course of the flight, so as to raise the old question: "If a knife be rebladed, it is still the same knife. But if then a new handle is added, is it the same or another knife?" Then, too, the time required was long when one recalls that the flight was made with the fastest kind of locomotion devised by man. Five months, fourteen days elapsed between the departure of the fliers from California and the date when they touched again on the American continent. The old clipper ships could do it as quickly; it takes only a fraction of that time to make the circuit of the world by railroad and steamship. Of course the army aviators were not trying for speed. They aimed at safety and success. Yet one may say with assurance that round-the-world flight by airplane is still a long way off as a regular and recognized means of travel. It is not yet a commercial possibility, nor even an opportunity for the tourist looking for new thrills.

This absorption in sports—already so great and apparently on the increase—is both a good and a bad sign of the times. The sports that are featured in the press are chiefly the spectacular professional performances in which a few individuals take part while thousands look on. Sometimes the performances are detrimental or dangerous to the participants, while the most benefit that the spectators can hope for is mental recreation and a bit of fresh air. Yet if these great spectacular events sometimes seem like an opiate for the people—or the "bread and circus" of the Roman Empire—one should recognize that they develop and encourage a great growth of amateur sport, of no import whatever to the newspapers but of supreme consequence to the health and spirits of the people.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Next President: La Follette or Wheeler

By GILSON GARDNER

TO what end is this La Follette campaign? What good can come out of it? Is there a chance to win? Or assuming La Follette can't win, and assuming he can prevent the election of either Coolidge or Davis, and throw the election into Congress, what then?

Before answering the last question, it might be well to see just what chance La Follette has to win. It is being assumed by many of La Follette's supporters and friends that his race is an effort to "poll a large vote"; to make a protest against the two-party system as it now functions; to throw a monkey-wrench into the works; and finally, to lay the foundations for a new party of opposition. That La Follette and Wheeler might get enough votes in the Electoral College actually to enter the White House is disbelieved by most people.

The writer does not concur in this disbelief. There are many reasons for believing that the independent ticket might carry enough States to win.

Briefly, there are considerations such as these. The Davis-Coolidge opposition is to all intents and purposes the same ticket. Both are representative of conservatism. They are both, as the orators now continuously repeat, tagged by Wall Street. The banker vote will be divided between them. Coolidge is likely to get the larger share. He is the nominee of a party which is traditionally conservative and his record is all reactionary.

The La Follette-Wheeler ticket has the great advantage of unity. There is no candidate competing for the liberal vote. There is no one to divide it with. All shades of liberal and semi-liberal and positive liberal opinion have got together. The Socialists have studiously avoided naming a national candidate and have indorsed the progressive ticket. There is no one except La Follette to represent the so-called "common people." He is the champion of the laboring man, the distressed farmer, the persecuted foreign-born American, the folks who suffered under the war hysteria; all those classes which resent infringement on their personal liberties and civil rights, champions of free speech and freedom of thought and of religion, will naturally drift into the independent camp.

Conceding Coolidge and Davis the full and cordial support of bankers, stock-brokers, railroad owners, and landlords; conceding them the support of the owning classes, there are still more qualified voters in the working class. And among the latter may be included the salaried and rent-paying people, husbands and wives, and the generally unwealthy.

If it should develop that there is a great silent vote made up of such as these and if the prospect of a genuinely independent candidate should draw out the 26 million voters who have never taken part in politics; if the La Follette-Wheeler ticket should chance to appeal to that floating element which was so conspicuous in the test polls as supporters of Henry Ford and which figured as a seven million majority in the Harding election; then it would not be at all beyond the possibility of believing that the La Follette-Wheeler ticket would find itself elected by a landslide.

But if there is no general massing of the popular vote for the liberal candidates, if party habit sits heavily upon the population and millions take the beaten path of inherited names and slogans so that November 10 finds a normal Republican return from a certain number of States and a normal Democratic return from a certain number of other States and a normal progressive independent return from half a dozen La Follette States; and the Electoral College lacks the 266 votes necessary for a choice, what then?

Have the progressives thought what then? Have they faced this larger probability and can they give a reason for their conduct in the face of it?

The Constitution sends the election from the Electoral College into Congress. First the House of Representatives has a chance to choose. They must choose from the three candidates for President having the most votes and they must vote by States, each State casting one vote and each State being governed in that choice by the political complexion of a majority of its representatives in the House. But a careful tabulation of the House with five States deadlocked shows that there is no majority to be had. What then? Will the influences which control political parties and the government abide by the sacredness of party name and accomplish a deadlock in the House? Or will certain members be approached by powerful interests and with potential bribes and with arguments that their genuine duty to their country requires that they forget mere party labels and cast their votes to break the deadlock and to elect a candidate who is "safe and sound"? Might there not arise a conspiracy which would seek to prevent the government falling into the hands of a "dangerous radical"? By snatching the power through corrupt acts and perpetuating a candidate of one or the other of the two old parties?

Those who remember the Hayes-Tilden deadlock will realize that there is nothing fantastic about this supposition. The Hayes-Tilden election produced a deadlock and a commission was appointed to go into certain Southern States and steal a few electoral votes. (One of the commissioners was rewarded by an appointment later on the Supreme Court.) But the scheme worked and Hayes reigned for a four-year term.

Very well, say the friends of La Follette. Anything like that would illustrate conclusively the effect of the money power on the organization of the two old parties and would spell the end of those parties and the beginning of a new order. It may be necessary, they say, to have such a happening in order to break the present corrupt bipartisan control.

Next comes the alternate choice of a Vice-President from the vice-presidential candidates, for the Constitution says if the House is unable to elect and March 4 arrives, then the Senate shall choose between the two candidates for Vice-President having the highest number of votes in the Electoral College. Some political prophets are making the mistake of thinking that the highest vote in such case would go to Dawes and Charlie Bryan. More likely the choice would be between Dawes and Wheeler. The La Follette-Wheeler ticket will, if it does not run first, certainly run

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

second, and if it does the choice in all human probability will be Wheeler. Dawes will have no show in the Senate. The straight reactionary Republican element in the Senate is now an impotent minority. Officially, it is a majority. Officially, it controls the Senate and distributes the patronage. The last session of Congress, however, demonstrated conclusively that no such thing as a Republican majority exists in the Senate and that the real control rests with the coalition which was formed by Democrats and progressives headed by La Follette.

Wheeler, as a Democrat, would be the logical choice of the Democratic Senators. Wheeler, as a progressive, would command logically the support of the La Follette progressive bloc. It is easy to see, therefore, that even allowing for the disaffection of a few reactionary senators like Bruce of Maryland there would be a clear majority in this coalition to make Burton K. Wheeler Vice-President. In the absence of a President, the Electoral College and the House having failed to choose one, the Vice-President under the Constitution would act as President and Burton K. Wheeler would enter the White House.

This is very likely what will happen. Then what? Will Wheeler ask La Follette to enter his Cabinet or will he consider that La Follette is more important in his position of leadership in the Senate? Probably the latter.

What will happen under the administration of Burton K. Wheeler as President of the United States? A new kind of Attorney General certainly, not even a Harlan F. Stone. A Secretary of War of a different variety from Mr. Weeks. A new Assistant Secretary of Navy not of the Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and Denby type. A different sort of Secretary of Treasury from the Mellon brand. Also there would be a different kind of person to enforce the prohibition law, for Wheeler showed when he was State attorney of Montana that he believed in law enforcement, not of the favored class variety. Perhaps Warren S. Stone would become Secretary of the Treasury and William H. Johnston Secretary of Labor. These would seem logical selections. But without proceeding to build up all the executive force of our new young President from the West, it is easy to see that several changes would take place in the executive branches of the Government. And in Congress the influence of the executive would doubtless be felt not exactly along Calvin Coolidge lines. The next Congress is more likely to be Democratic liberal than it is to be Calvinistic Republican, so that there would be more chance for harmonious team-work with La Follette helping on the Hill and Wheeler recommending than there would be with a Coolidge in the White House deadlocked against a liberal Congress.

So the prospect is not so sad after all.

New Morals for Old

Dominant Sexes

By M. VAERTING

CERTAIN peculiarities of physical form are today considered typical feminine sex characters. Thus roundness and fulness of figure are generally regarded as characteristic of women; larger size and strength among men are accepted as a sex difference, biologically determined.

But this theory, like the entire doctrine of secondary sex characters, stands upon a doubtful basis. It has grown up out of a comparison of men and women in very unequal situations. The bodies of men and women whose field of work and type of occupation differ widely have been compared. The man attends to the extra-domestic activities, while the woman is chiefly occupied at home. Bachofen writes: "If a man sits at a spinning-wheel a weakening of body and of soul will inevitably follow." Certain of the physical differences between men and women may therefore be sociologically determined rather than due to inborn differences.

One may object that the division of labor between the sexes, in which the woman takes the domestic and the man the extra-domestic sphere, is itself determined by inborn sex differences. Even in Socrates's time it was believed that the nature of the sexes fixed their fields of activity. Man was unquestionably intended for matters which must be attended to outside the house, "while the weak and timid woman was by divine order assigned to the inner work of the home." After thorough investigation it appears that this hoary theory, which still persists, is false. The division of labor between man and woman corresponds not to an innate difference but to their power-relation. If man dominates he says that woman's place is the home, and that work outside the home is fit only for men. If woman is dominant then she has the opposite opinion, takes care of business outside the home, and leaves the man to take care of the family and the housekeeping. Today man is dominant, but there have been many peoples among whom woman was dominant and the role of man and woman was the reverse of that common today. In ancient Egypt there was a period when women ruled. Herodotus reports that they unnaturally performed "masculine" activities, carried on commerce in the market-place, while the men stayed at home, sewed, and attended to domestic difficulties. Among the Kamchadales the men, in the days of female dominance, were such complete housewives that they cooked, sewed, washed, and were never allowed to stay away from home for more than a day. Similarly among the Lapps there was a period when the men did the housework while the women fished and sailed the sea. Under such circumstances the men also took care of the children.

When one sex is dominant there is always a division of labor. This differentiation of occupation is one of the chief causes of certain differences in physical form between men and women. It changes the fundamental conditions of development—among others the course of the inner secretions. Where man rules he does the active outside work and is accordingly larger and stronger; where woman rules and does the same "man's work" her body assumes what are today regarded as typically male proportions, whereas the man develops what we call feminine characteristics. We have a few definite proofs of this from states dominated by women. When women ruled among the Gauls, working

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

outside the home, we are told by Strabo that the female was larger and stronger. Among the Orombies on the Congo women were in power and did all the hard work. Ellis says they were stronger and better developed than the men. The same was true of the Wateita in East Africa. Fritsch and Hellwald report the woman larger among the Bushmen. The Spartan women in the days of their rule had a reputation for enormous strength. Aristophanes says that a Spartan woman could strangle an ox bare-handed. The Egyptian women at the height of their power were called by their neighbors the "lionesses of the Nile," and they seemed to like the name.

Thus through legend and the records of travelers we have clear testimony that man is not larger and stronger than woman because of innate differences, as is generally supposed, but that physical superiority is a characteristic of the dominant sex, whether it be male or female.

Similarly those secondary physical characteristics which are today regarded as female are found among males when they occupy the subordinate position in which woman lives today. Woman is inclined today to full, rounded curves and even to stoutness. Among the Celts the woman dominated, and according to Strabo the men of that people were inclined to be fat and heavy-paunched. The same was true of the Kamchadales in the days of woman rule. The men were strikingly voluptuous and well rounded. The male Eskimos too were inclined to fatness in the days when they did the housekeeping—the more subordinate the fatter. In this the Oriental women are typical; their exuberance of figure is as well known as their absolute subordination and their confinement to the home. They may be contrasted with the fat, subordinate male Kamchadales, whose wives were slim and firm-breasted into old age.

Equal rights do away with this division of labor. There are no longer male and female jobs; not sex but inclination and fitness begin to determine the individual's occupation. In late Egypt, when the domination of woman was merging into a period of equal rights, there are many indications that both sexes did the same work without any differentiation of occupation. In the marriage contract in the time of Darius, the woman—who then made the contract alone—says "All, which you and I may together earn. . . ." Victor Marx has studied the position of woman in Babylon in the period 604-485 B.C., and finds a similar situation.

Today, when we are passing from male domination to equal rights it is natural that the woman should be seeking more and more to get out of the home. The greater her power the more she seeks to level the lines between male and female work. This effort is strongest in the subordinate sex—in this case the feminine—because it naturally seeks to better its position. In this transition period, therefore, women are pressing into male pursuits much faster than men into domestic occupations. Yet even in Germany a beginning has been made. For women the male professions seem higher and better, because they have hitherto belonged to the dominant sex, while for the men feminine occupations seem to have about them something degrading; but the more women approach equality the less odium attaches to what has been their sphere, and the more men tend to enter it.

The same phenomenon may be observed in periods of transition from female to male domination. Among the Batta, for instance, both sexes worked in the fields, but the men alone cared for the children. This was obviously a step toward equal rights. The men already shared the extra-domestic occupations of the women, but the women still refused to share the work of the hitherto subordinate men.

Every age holds its own standards absolute. The domination of one sex depends upon the artificial development of as many and as striking bodily differences as possible, and therefore approves them and insists upon emphasizing them. Equal rights tend to develop the natural similarity of the sexes and considering that the norm, regard it as ideal.

There is ample opportunity to observe today that equality of the sexes coincides with a tendency slowly to do away with artificial physical differences. The disappearance of the so-called feminine figure was so striking in America, where the sexes are more nearly equal than in Europe, that Sargent and Alexander prophesied in 1910 that soon men and women could hardly be distinguished from one another. A comparison with pictures of thirty or forty years ago makes it plain that even in Europe male and female figures are coming closer to each other. The narrow waists and full bosoms of the women have disappeared. Men are shaving their beards. And, as a result of our investigation, we may prophesy that the coming equality will iron out still more completely those differences which hitherto have been regarded as genuine secondary sex characters.

Whenever one sex is dominant there is a tendency to differentiate male and female costume. The more completely one sex dominates the greater will be the differences in clothes, and as the sexes become equal the differences disappear. When the two sexes are really equal they will wear the same clothing.

The clothing of the dominant sex usually tends to be uniform and tasteless, that of the subordinate to be varied and richly ornamented. Today man is still dominant, and his clothes are monotonous, dull, and less subject to shifts of fashion. Especially in formal dress he wears a sort of uniform. All men, of whatever age or position, wear dress clothes of the same cut and color. A grandfather wears a dinner coat exactly like that of his eighteen-year-old grandson. This seems natural, but the situation is reversed with the subordinate sex, most completely when the subordination is most complete. Only twenty or thirty years ago it was a crime in Germany for a mother to dress as "youthfully" as her unmarried daughter. A grandmother who dared to dress like her eighteen-year-old granddaughter would have been laughed to scorn. As woman's power has grown this has changed. Custom no longer requires a grandmother to emphasize her age by her clothes.

Where woman dominates she tends to wear darker and plainer clothing and the man dresses himself more richly and variously. Erman writes of the old Egyptians:

> While according to our conceptions it befits the woman to love finery and ornament, the Egyptians of the old empire seem to have had an opposite opinion. Beside the elaborate costumes of the men the women's clothing seems very monotonous, for, from the Fourth to the Eighteenth Dynasty, all, from the king's daughter to the peasant woman, wore the same garb—a simple garment without folds.

Herodotus, indeed, reported that Egyptian men had two suits, women only one. Erman naturally cannot explain the simplicity of the women's clothes and the eagerness of the men for color and ornament, because it contradicted

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

current theories of the character of the two sexes. Today the view is current which Runge expressed when he said that "Women's desire to please and love of ornament is dependent upon her sex life." This view, though still common, is fundamentally false. The inclination to bright and ornamental clothing is dependent not upon sex but upon the power-relation of the sexes. The subordinate sex, whether male or female, seeks ornament. Strabo tells of the love of finery and cult of the body among Lybian men. They curled their hair, even their beards, wore gold ornaments, diligently brushed their teeth and polished their fingernails. "They arrange their hair so tenderly," he writes, "that when walking they never touch one another in order not to disturb it." It is usual in states where women are dominant for the men to wear long hair and pay particular attention to their barbering. The men of Tana, in the Hebrides, wore their hair 18 to 20 inches long, divided into six or seven hundred tiny locks, in the days when women ruled.

The stronger tendency of the subordinate sex to ornamentation apparently is closely related to the division of labor. The subordinate sex, working at home, has more leisure and opportunity for ornament than the dominant. Furthermore, leisure stimulates the erotic feelings. Since the partner does not share the leisure the lonely erotic often seeks a way out in self-ornamentation.

When the sexes are equal the clothes of the two sexes tend to be alike. We have noted that the Cingalese were physically similar; their clothes were exactly the same. The only difference was that the men wore a mother-of-pearl comb in the hair, the women none. Among the Lepka the sexes can be distinguished only by the fact that the men wear their hair in two braids, the women in one. Tacitus reports that the old Germans wore the same clothes and wore their hair alike.

We can observe the tendency to similarity of costume in this transition period. More than a decade ago Paris attempted to establish a fashion for women of knickerbockers and bobbed hair. The attempt failed, but today the bobbed head has invaded every civilized country, almost in direct proportion to the degree in which women have acquired equal rights. It is reported from England that English women can already go to their work in knickers, heavy shoes, and short hair without exciting any attention. In Germany the police forbid one sex to wear the clothes of the other, but during the war when German women had to enter male trades they usually wore men's clothing.

Among men, too, the tendency to similarity is evident. Thirty years ago the beard was a generally accepted sign of manhood; it has fallen out of fashion. In the Youth Movement there is a tendency to leave the shirt open at the neck and to adopt a hair-cut like a bobbed girl's. A note in Jean Paul's "Levana," which appeared in 1806, is interesting. He writes: "A few years ago it was fashionable in Russia for the men to fill out their clothing with high false bosoms." That was in the days following the French Revolution, when a short wave of freedom, even for women, swept across the earth.

What Your Child Learns

By MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS and MALCOLM M. WILLEY

IT is the willingness of children to swallow without question any potion of knowledge received from their elders that makes the problem of elementary and secondary education so interesting. With the vast majority of the children of this country finishing their formal schooling by the age of fifteen, it is important to consider what sort of educational nourishment is poured into their intellectual stomachs. What is learned in the formative years is rarely unlearned; and it is a realization of this fact that impels the champions of all sorts of causes to try to put their ideas into the curriculum of both grammar and high schools. History, for example, has become a process of propaganda and myth-making. And the process of intellectual adulteration is spreading. This is particularly apparent when one picks up books that deal with subjects such as government, economics, "Americanization," and "citizenship." The teaching of social sciences, usually under the name of "civics," is rapidly undergoing changes in the upper grades and high schools. The old anatomical study of government, with a memorizing of the departments and their functions and duties, is giving way to the study of social problems: the race problem, the labor problem, the immigration problem, and many others. But with the disappearance of the old formalism this new civics brings in dynamic ideas; and sometimes ideas are dangerous.

What sort of material is included in these courses? An answer to this question, as well as rather striking circumstantial evidence of the domination of conservative beliefs over the minds of those who control the material presented in elementary- and secondary-school education, is found in three very recent textbooks which have been issued to meet the varying requirements in these social-science courses. The first of these volumes, "Actual Democracy: The Problems of America," by Margaret K. Berry and Samuel B. Howe, two members of the Newark, New Jersey, school system, is intended for the consumption of high-school students. In issuing it the authors "acknowledge their indebtedness" to a syllabus, "Problems of Actual Democracy," prepared by the commissioner of education of that State. At the end of each chapter there are topics for discussion. Thus, after the chapter on The Problem of Private Property the student is asked to "show that private property and democracy are inseparable." If he has read his assignment he should have no difficulty in doing this, for all of the virtues of the institution are explained to him. The subject is summed up on page 63:

> Private property is one of the fundamental institutions of American democracy. It is an unmistakable index of social progress. It originated because of social reasons; it has grown under continual subjection to the social sanction. It is the basis on which our whole social order has been built up. It cannot be destroyed without destroying also the ideals of liberty and democracy in which Americans believe.

It is obvious that in an actual democracy based on the principles enunciated above one must know how to think "properly" upon the subject of unionism. The authors of this illuminating work have consequently included material which will help all New Jersey boys and girls to form an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opinion of the various workers' movements in this country. More than that, they have established the relation of the unions to the institution of private property, which, as has been shown, is the corner-stone of democracy. Thus:

> There are several types of unionism in this country. First, we have what we may call "business unionism," which is trade conscious but not class conscious. It is essentially a bargaining and a conservative institution: an example is the Railway Brotherhood. Second is the "friendly or uplift union," which may be either trade or class conscious, is conservative, and favors collective bargaining and profit-sharing. An example of this form of unionism was the society known as the Knights of Labor, which at one time had a large and influential membership. The third type may be called "predatory unionism." It is secret, either radical or conservative, class or trade conscious, and has two wings: "hold-up" unionism, the corrupt type recently exposed in our great cities; and "guerrilla unionism," which never combines with employers, but engages in a secret and violent warfare with capital. There is also, unfortunately, a fourth and more objectionable type of unionism which calls itself "revolutionary unionism." It may be either socialistic, as was the Western Federation of Miners, or anarchistic, like the Industrial Workers of the World. It is class, not trade, conscious and antagonistic to the wage and other systems of society. This unionism does not, as a rule, care for the rights of the employers, and is disposed to believe in the policy of sabotage, which varies all the way from actual destruction of property to mere slacking on the job (pp. 73-74).

And having digested some twenty pages of this sort of thing, the question at the end of the chapter, Would a Labor Party in the United States Be un-American? will undoubtedly call forth answers satisfactory to the members of the State Legislature of New Jersey.

In an age of Klansmen, hundred-per cent patriots, and determined Nordics the "menace of immigration" naturally looms large. New Jersey students are helped to a proper appreciation of the "menace to America of a large, unassimilated population" by this harrowing experience undergone by the authors of the text:

> There is no doubt that there has been a tremendous increase in criminal thought and action affecting the political sphere in recent years which has been fomented by radical foreigners. In the early spring of 1919 the authors attended a socialistic mass meeting in New York City and saw thousands of foreign faces glow with approval and with the lust for cruel action, as speaker after speaker denounced the government of the United States and by inference justified acts of violence against it (pp. 167-168).

After showing that "there are three times as many foreign-born as native paupers" who enjoy the opportunities of our land, and other similar "facts," they conclude that the immigration situation

> has rendered necessary a profound change in the very structure of our government. In order to control the turbulent non-American elements, we have been compelled to modify many of our earlier democratic ideals and to adopt centralization of authority, which is far different in spirit from American traditions (p. 169).

And more than that, another effect of immigration

> has been the growth of radical theories of government, so that today American democracy is facing a life-and-death struggle with Marxian socialism (p. 169).

The volume on the Constitution ("The Common Sense of the Constitution of the United States"), by A. T. Southworth, has the merit of greater subtlety. This book interprets for high-school students the meaning of that justly famous document clause by clause. The comments on the first ten amendments, and especially on the First Amendment, give the measure of the value of the whole commentary. There are few men who can look the First Amendment square in the eye and not flinch. Mr. Southworth is not numbered among that few:

> This amendment also guarantees the right of free speech. There can, of course, be no such thing as absolute free speech. The only persons who say exactly what they think every minute of the day are babies and fools. If a person is in church, at a meeting, or in any public place he will hardly say aloud every thought that passes through his head. There is reason in all things, and on general principles a person may say in this country anything that he pleases, provided what he says is not libelous or slanderous, or contrary to the public morals; and provided that he does not advocate the overthrow of the government by force. In this country, where we have a government, not of men but of laws, it is not reasonable that any one should preach the overthrow of the government by force. If B says, "Murder A, throw him out of office, and let me rule," then it is perfectly logical for C to advocate the murder of B after B has set himself up as ruler. This is anarchy.

Thus to the high-school student murder is made to seem the kernel of anarchy, but the way in which the notion of violence and crime are connected with a definite theory of society to create these false associations in the minds of the students is doubtless more obvious to the adult observer than to the young pupil.

The third volume, a "Text-Book in Citizenship," by R. O. Hughes, who incidentally is a teacher in a Pittsburgh high school, is perhaps most ingenuous of all. This book is profusely illustrated. The striking thing about the illustrations is that so many of them are printed "by courtesy." By courtesy of whom is worth noticing. The list includes the Carnegie Steel Company, the Union Switch and Signal Company, the Portland Cement Association, the International Harvester Company, Swift & Company, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the American Steel and Wire Company, the United States Steel Company, the Illinois Steel Company, the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, the Westinghouse Electric Company, and others of like origin. And it is not pictures of blast furnaces with sweating men that are contributed by these concerns. Instead, we have pictures of company Americanization schools, corporation flag-raising exercises and Christmas trees; pictures of Alabama school-children at tooth-brush drill (this by the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company); factory gardens; highways "before and after" being paved with Portland cement; company employees who hold stock; model factory buildings; "better houses for workers" (in the Carnegie plant); and, the gem of them all, a group of twenty-four elderly men who, having labored thirty-five years each in the employ of the Carnegie Steel Company, are posed at the annual picnic given to the employees as a reward for services rendered! The frank purpose of this method of instruction is well demonstrated by the picture, An example of Public Welfare Work by a Great Corporation, which shows a newsboy drinking at a fountain into the stone-work of which is engraved in letters so large that even a child with defective vision can read: National Tube Co. Public Fountain. And in the chapter on churches is the picture of a "community

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

church." The caption reads: "John D. Rockefeller often attends this church, which is situated near his home in Pocantico Hills, New York. He sometimes lets photographers take his picture on such occasions, if they will attend services first."

But it is not only the pictures. On page 470 begins a section, Employers of the Right Sort. One reads: "The United States Steel Company reserves shares of stock which the employees may buy and so acquire a financial interest in the business." And Mary and Johnnie, preparing their lesson, write into their notebooks: "Employers of the right sort—United States Steel Company." Or if we turn to the discussions of the I. W. W. and the philosophy of direct action, we find (page 510): "It is hard to see how a right-thinking American can possibly indulge in such performances or hold such theories. A decent man finds it difficult to sympathize with even oppressed people who use any such means to have their grievances corrected." Then there is the paragraph about Lenin and Trotzky, "two able and unscrupulous leaders," and the anarchists, whom "no civilized people can tolerate," and all the rest. But enough has been said to give the general point of view of the author, and the material which might be quoted would merely be repetitious—there are some 750 pages of it.

When we consider such quotations as these from books written to teach the growing generation facts about their government and about the problems of our day, it is hard to look upon them as anything but evidence in support of the charge so often made that control is being deliberately exercised by interested parties over what is taught in the public schools. And yet, one hesitates to admit that the control is as direct and calculated as would appear. May it not be that the persons who write such textbooks are themselves seeing through the eyes of a reactionary press and the hysteria of the mob? Or are they, perhaps, responding unconsciously to very consciously directed propaganda? These three suggestions, it must be admitted, sound like conundrums. But the effect on American education is disastrous in any case.

Liberalism in the Colleges

By PAUL BLANSHARD

PROBABLY no section of America is more victimized by undiscriminating generalizations than the college community. A peculiarly vicious murder is contrived by two young college graduates and editorial writers lay the murder at the door of "too much education." A sophomore girl runs away with a station master after a fox trot and this proves the shallowness of college training. A college president turns out the lights on a radical lecturer and establishes the fact that free speech in our colleges is crushed by capitalism. A few courageous Methodists confess their Christian pacifism and lo, our colleges have become centers of bolshevism and treason.

Liberals who have experienced in their own youth the regimentation of the college have also been guilty of too many generalizations about our colleges. Remembering their own docility, they have looked for a sign of rebellion in the newer generation and, because they have seen no dramatic uprising, they have concluded that no "youth movement" exists in America, that the colleges are continuing to create a stronger bulwark for ancient oppressions. The conclusion is only half true. There is no organized youth movement in this country, but the colleges are in the process of profound and significant changes which cannot be described by a headline or a label. They are not "news." They cannot be summarized in a sentence any more than Einstein can be put into a cartoon.

What is taking place in American colleges is the preliminary part of a youth movement—the negative part. It is most noticeable in the changing attitude of the more brilliant and serious students. The earmark of the able college student fifteen years ago was receptivity in the classroom, loyalty to "great ideas." The earmark of the able college student today is, more and more, cynicism, irony. He is not to be fooled by anybody. He is a wise bird. The illusions of his father have less and less meaning for him. His professors hold ascendancy only if they do not take themselves too seriously. The novels which held honorable place on the desk of the older student generation have given place to "Babbitt" and "Janet March" and "Gargoyles." The successor to the young man who went "fussing" to a girls' seminary once a week now sits out the dances with a bobbed-haired co-ed who discusses quite uncoyly the damnations of monogamy.

Not that the college student of our time is "immoral." I have found no particular evidences of lost chastity. The student of our generation is simply more sophisticated: he knows why he is moral or immoral. His morality is more nearly virtue than innocence: his immorality is worn as a mantle of righteousness. Most of the old hypocrisy is gone. He is becoming aware that the older generation has failed and that accepted standards are not necessarily just standards. He clings only to faith in his inimitable self.

There is no better example of the changing attitude of college students toward life than the transformation of the college religious agencies, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., and the Student Volunteer Movement. Until a few years ago the propaganda of these agencies was purely romantic. The Student Volunteer Movement sent gullible young dreamers to Asia and Africa, armed with a story and hymnbook to save the heathen. The Y. M. C. A. told students that success in life comes to the good boy. Today the Y. M. C. A. on many of our campuses has become the active center of realistic thought concerning social and industrial problems. The Student Volunteer Movement has experienced an upheaval of progressive thought from within which made the Indianapolis convention of last January a source of ferment in scores of colleges. Its effect was not to send missionaries to Asia to save the heathen but to send back to the colleges several thousand earnest young men and women asking the question, "Has a nation which is saturated with national provincialism, commercial greed, and race prejudice any right to preach anything to the world?"

Social radicalism is spreading most rapidly in our theological seminaries and girls' colleges, notably in the former. The theological student of the last generation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seriously discussed Bushnell's theory of the atonement. The theological student of today is not really a theological student at all: if he discusses theology it is apologetically, mildly, indifferently, pointing out that dogmas are not important anyway. He is a humanist using Christianity as an illustration; he has abandoned the magic formulas of salvation and is groping for something to preach about. He must preach 52 or perhaps 104 sermons a year. He cannot talk about heaven and hell because he is no longer certain about hell. He cannot quote Greek texts because pulpit pedantry cannot compete with the movies. He is beginning to talk about poverty and war and industrial injustice, not as side issues but as major concerns of the church. He is trying to make Christianity into a serious religion and his efforts may surprise all the skeptics and cynics by resurrecting some dead churches into living social forces.

About the girls' colleges, Mr. Coolidge was right. A great many dangerous thoughts are going on in them. The college woman has no Rotary Club to look forward to. She is part of a subject economic class. She has a suspended maternal instinct. She reads modern novels. The combination is a threatening one. Whether you go to Vassar or Wellesley or Mills College, California, you will find many of the most influential of the girls questioning, attacking, ridiculing the conventional standards in industry, politics, and the home. That may be due partly to the fact that the girls' colleges spend less time on football; and then the ballot has been taken seriously by a number of women.

A study of the control of American universities in relation to their liberalism yields astonishing results. The assumption is general that a private institution controlled by trustee business men is likely to be more reactionary than public institutions, especially in semi-radical States like Minnesota and North Dakota. The reverse is sometimes the case. Dartmouth is an illustration.

Dartmouth is today one of the outstanding examples of liberalism in college administration. Its president, Ernest Martin Hopkins, has repeatedly taken a militant stand in behalf of free speech. "If turning handsprings on top of the college gymnasium would teach men to think," he told me, "I would be perfectly willing to do it." When William Z. Foster was invited by the Dartmouth Round Table to speak on the left-wing movement of labor, President Hopkins said: "Personally I am opposed to Foster. I think that he has not used his influence and power wisely and has sometimes misled his followers, but the students can hear him in a college hall if they wish provided they raise the money to bring him to Dartmouth without my cooperation."

In a number of ways Dartmouth is injecting a new spirit into the classroom. Students in its labor-problems classes are not compelled to listen exclusively to one professor summing up all "sides" of the industrial struggle in a fruitless attempt to be impartial. They have had the opportunity of listening during the past two years to such speakers as James A. Emery, counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers; Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor, Julia O'Connor of the telephone workers of Boston, Robert Amory, president of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers; John L. Barry, president of the New Hampshire Federation of Labor; J. Eads Howe, and many other leaders in industrial struggles. In the compulsory course for freshmen the students are plunged into the middle of the controversies concerning the Negro problem, disarmament, socialism, and the League of Nations by readings from current periodicals and newspapers. Here again the effort is to place before the students cross-sections of the world as it actually is, a world of biased judgments and inflamed prejudices.

Although Dartmouth is by no means a radical institution (it has no avowed Socialists on its faculty), its policy is so much more progressive than that of institutions like Michigan and Pennsylvania that the outsider is likely to ascribe the policy to an unusual board of trustees. As a matter of fact the list of Dartmouth trustees reads like a page from "The Goose Step": Lewis Parkhurst, treasurer of Ginn and Co.; Henry B. Thayer, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co.; Albert O. Brown of the Amoskeag Savings Bank; Prof. John K. Lord, former professor of Latin; Dr. John M. Gile, surgeon; Henry L. Moore, retired treasurer of the Minnesota Loan and Trust Co.; Harry H. Blunt, treasurer of the Wonalancet Co.; Clarence B. Little, president of the First National Bank of Bismarck, North Dakota; Fred H. Howland, president of the National Life Insurance Co.; ex-Gov. Fred H. Brown, and Charles G. Du Bois, president of the Western Electric Co. That such a board of trustees can control a genuinely progressive educational institution is proof that no generalization about capitalist control of our universities can explain all the reaction and suppression.

Business-men rulers do not necessarily make a college reactionary. Much of the regimentation and conservatism of our American colleges is the product of the inertia and dulness of the hinterland in which the colleges are situated. The college must be a part of its environment. There are hundreds of the younger generation of professors who are leading their students toward progressive and honest thinking as fast as the mental background of the community will permit. This is notably true of the sociology professors who are leavening the conservative mass as fast as their more cautious colleagues in economics will permit. They cannot be expected to do more until the hinterland shows signs of transformation.

The progressives within the colleges have received little help from the labor movement, whereas our business interests have been often quick to reward the professorial apostle of reaction. The American Federation of Labor could create within ten years a very real change in the attitude of the college community toward the problems of the working class if it sent some of its best leaders to spend their whole time in presenting labor's point of view to the colleges. The success of the League for Industrial Democracy in reaching 50,000 students this year with its speakers and in getting several thousand to affiliate and read treatises on industrial problems is an indication of what might be done if progressive groups applied themselves to the problem of enlightening the college student. In spite of a growing sophistication about many things most of the college students of America have never heard a labor speech and probably never will. They have only the most grotesque notion of the meaning of socialism and many of them do not know what a pacifist really is. Their old idols are pretty thoroughly smashed, but new ideals of peace and industrial justice have not yet taken their place.

All things considered, the 700,000 college students in this country are amazingly neglected by the people who ought to have most hope in the next generation, the believ-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers in a new social order. There are plenty of people from outside who are bothering the college students and professors, but their motives are either professional or commercial. There are the professors' associations helping the teachers to "get on"; there are the agents of the publishing houses and the persons snooping for honorary degrees and the legislators seeking some excuse to cut the tax appropriation. But where are the people who seek to enlist youth to fight in behalf of human ideals? We are a generation behind Europe in the use of the latent idealism of youth in behalf of social reconstruction.

The struggle for progressive ideals in the colleges during the next few years is likely to center about war and military training. In reflection and discussion about war many liberal clubs affiliated to the National Student Forum and the League for Industrial Democracy have found tremendous interest, not only in war itself but in the economic causes of war. The issue of war is dramatic and easily understood. It is brought home to the students of many of our largest institutions by compulsory military training on the campus. The yoke is bearing down heavily upon those agricultural schools which received land grants from the federal government on condition that they impose military training upon their students. It is one of the sorest spots in our college life. Campuses are dominated by the swaggering captain of the drill; students who hate militarism and all its appearances are forced to go through the motions of killing men.

"Now, fellahs," said the leader of the bayonet drill at Kansas State Agricultural College one night last spring as he stood in front of a line of rookies, "now, fellahs, remember when you run the bayonet through their guts, grunt a little and look fierce. It is not only what you do that counts but how you feel and look."

Could liberalism find a better issue than this for the next step in our colleges: the elimination of compulsory military training from those institutions which should be leading America away from war?

La Follette and Standard Oil

(The Nation's *Weekly Washington Letter*)

By WILLIAM HARD

WITH La Follette concentrating on "the trusts" and making the trusts the bull's-eye for his most vehement rhetoric, the question arises: If the rhetoric came to be transmuted into action by La Follette in the White House, what would the action be, precisely, and in detail?

The answer to that question can be competently illustrated by the recommendations which Mr. La Follette made as chairman of the Senate's Committee on Manufactures last year regarding the petroleum industry.

Those recommendations can give but cold comfort to people who like to make out that Mr. La Follette would take a large hammer and smash everything to small bits. They refute the contention that Mr. La Follette would be "extreme" and "destructive." In fact, on analysis, they induce the view that Mr. La Follette would proceed inch by cautious inch and, instead of cramping the energies of business, would strive to release and expand them.

Mr. La Follette's recommendations regarding the petroleum industry grew out of some fifteen hundred pages of testimony regarding conditions in the industry—testimony from producers, transporters, refiners, distributors. Mr. La Follette came to the conclusion that the petroleum industry is dominated and essentially controlled by the so-called "Standard" companies. In other words, he saw himself confronted by a "trust." He thereupon made eight recommendations, which can be analyzed down into five.

The first noteworthy thing about these five recommendations is that not one of them is to the effect that the Standard Oil Company of Indiana or any other Standard company or any company whatsoever in the petroleum industry should be smashed and made smaller. Not once in the course of these five recommendations does Mr. La Follette suggest that any existing unit in the petroleum industry should be artificially governmentally contracted. The necessary conclusion from this fact is that if the Standard Oil Company of Indiana can legitimately grow to be even larger than it is now it would encounter no opposition from Mr. La Follette as President.

Mr. La Follette, however, does suggest five courses of action for the Government to pursue for the purpose of establishing what he believes to be fairer and freer conditions in the petroleum industry.

The first is that all companies in the industry shall be obliged to instal a uniform system of bookkeeping and shall be obliged to make reports to the Government showing their production, their storage, their costs, their prices, and other pertinent data, which the Government thereupn shall assemble and arrange in such a manner that at all times the full facts regarding the petroleum industry may be available to persons in the industry and the consuming public. This suggestion amounts to the proposition that petroleum companies shall send to the Government the sort of self-revealing data that all railroad companies now send to the Interstate Commerce Commission. It amounts to the proposition that petroleum is affected with a public interest and that petroleum companies should to a certain degree be obliged to behave as public utilities.

The second suggestion is that petroleum pipe-lines, engaged in pumping petroleum from place to place, shall be obliged to behave as common carriers and shall be obliged to have receiving stations and delivery stations wherever reasonably demanded. This suggestion amounts to the proposition that the present transportation law, which declares pipe-lines to be common carriers, shall be put into actual practical effective operation.

The third suggestion is that railroad freight rates upon petroleum products between certain points shall be sufficiently reduced to enable independent mid-continent petroleum companies to reach the Central and Eastern States in competition with the Standard companies.

The fourth suggestion is that exports of petroleum and of petroleum products from this country should be restricted in order to prevent the unduly rapid exhaustion of our domestic petroleum supply.

The fifth suggestion is that where oil companies have engaged in "price manipulations" and where they have en-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gaged in restraint of trade through artificial divisions of marketing territory and where they have artificially limited production through alleged conspiracies based on the so-called "cracking process" patents, the Department of Justice should proceed against them.

This suggestion amounts to the proposition that the Sherman law, which is a law, even as the Volstead law is a law, should be enforced.

Is it possible to say that any one of these five suggestions is "destructive"?

The fifth of them—regarding the importance of the Sherman law—commended itself to that sane and reasonable man, our former Attorney General, Harry M. Daugherty, and it has equally commended itself to our present Attorney General, Harlan F. Stone, who is not a La Folletteite.

After a study of Mr. La Follette's fifth suggestion—a study begun under Mr. Daugherty and concluded under Mr. Stone—the Department of Justice has brought suit against the Standard Oil Company of Indiana and other petroleum companies to break up an alleged conspiracy limiting petroleum production through the so-called "cracking process" patents. The Department of Justice has also taken up the matter of marketing-territory divisions maintained by the so-called Standard companies and has begun to explore the possibility of an action which might break down the lines of those divisions. It finally has entered into a widespread inquiry, in collaboration with the chief legal officers of various State governments, regarding alleged price manipulations and conspiracies by numerous petroleum companies.

Mr. La Follette's allegations and recommendations, in so far as they affect the Department of Justice, have not been scorned by the Department of Justice but on the contrary have been closely studied and largely followed by it.

It is further to be noted that all of Mr. La Follette's recommendations were accepted and signed by his fellow-committee-members Senator McNary of Oregon, Senator Smith of South Carolina, and Senator Jones of New Mexico, none of whom bears the reputation of being an enemy of business.

That petroleum companies should make reports of their operations to the Government; that pipe-lines should be common carriers in fact as well as in theory; that there should be certain reductions of railroad freight rates; that exports of petroleum should be limited; that illegal conspiracies between petroleum companies should be checked—can any sane man, even if he disagrees with these suggestions, see anything in them justifying wild talk about Mr. La Follette and "Russia"? In fact, must not any sane man admit that these suggestions proceed inch by inch cautiously and not in seven-league boots recklessly?

The sum of it is that Mr. La Follette would not take a hammer and pound the big petroleum companies into small petroleum companies but would establish "free" and "fair" conditions, as he regards them, whereupon, in his belief, in his own words, "the independent operators would be able to restore and maintain healthy competition" in the industry.

That is the sum of La Follette as a trust-buster in action. He is not the enemy of the American idea in business. He is the candidate who gives most thought, whether with success or without success, to the progressive means by which the American idea in business can be continuously restored and maintained.

In the Driftway

IF men ever adopt a more sensible and comfortable dress—and heaven knows they need it, especially in summer—the change will probably be made at the behest of women. Hence the Drifter is glad to see that a woman, Madge Blair Barnwell, has started a crusade to induce men to go without their coats in summer. She writes in the New York *Herald Tribune:*

> I appeal to the common sense of every man to rebel against the slavery of a senseless custom and discard the coat and vest in summer. To wear the coat in hot weather is a wrong conception of propriety. The lists of prostrations and deaths from heat in summer show men are the victims and seldom women. It is because women do not wear winter clothes in summer.
>
> Is not man as decently dressed in his neat shirt as his mother, sister, wife, and daughter are decently dressed in their shirt-waists? Yet men are so modest that if a woman in low neck and short sleeves enters a man's office and finds him in legitimate comfort in his shirt-sleeves, he will apologize, hurry out, and put on a wool coat when the temperature is 95.

* * * * *

MRS. BARNWELL advocates simply the elimination of the coat in summer, but if the sentiment against appearing in a shirt only is too strong, she suggests a substitute.

> The shirt is a neat, jaunty, and becoming garment, but if a groundless prejudice requires it to be hidden, let us try a different garment, or revive a sensible old one.
>
> The blouse was originally a man's garment; women assumed it and men dropped it. Women are now assuming trousers; we hope the men will drop these, too, feeling they are becoming too effeminate, and adopt the picturesque and comfortable knee breeches, which should be of linen or cotton with silk or cotton hose.
>
> Men should wear blouses made of lawn, voile, silk, dimity, organdie, etc., with low sailor or round collars. "Collars are choking strips which men wilt while laughing at the foolish clothes that women wear." These blouses should be recognized as appropriate for any occasion in hot weather, from the office to the most formal social function. . . .

* * * * *

THE Drifter thinks that some progress has been made already toward more sensible summer clothing for men. A number of years ago a man was not regarded as well dressed in New York City unless he wore a wool suit. Now custom permits palm beach, mohair, linen, and various other light and porous fabrics, although many men are too stupid to take advantage of them. Mrs. Barnwell may not know that a good many summers ago there was a definite attempt on the part of men in New York City—all of whom were then stifling in wool—to go without their coats. It became a fad, and might have stuck except for opposition. The elegant and the would-be elegant restaurants protested, and at least one fashionable hotel announced that men without coats would not be permitted in its dining-room. This should have encouraged the practice, as there is little doubt that any man excluded on that ground could have recovered substantial damages. But New Yorkers are notoriously docile and spineless in matters of that sort. The Drifter believes that there is still a rule at the New York Public Library against a man's entering without a coat, or taking

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it off once he is inside. The rule ought to be violated systematically until the library's officers would have to withdraw it in self-defense.

* * * * *

ANYHOW we Americans are more sensible than the English in taking off our coats and in wearing informal dress in summer. On the steamships of the Royal Mail from Southampton to Buenos Aires, which is a three weeks' trip diagonally across the tropics, passengers are expected to dress for dinner every night in the "conventional black." This means that the immaculate man (the Drifter claims no such distinction) must set out with a wardrobe of some twenty dress shirts, as there is no laundry aboard. The Drifter recalls, also, embarking at the Isthmus of Panama on one of the steamships of this famous English line. Needless to say the weather was hot, and the Drifter appeared on deck without a coat but—he thinks—in a clean and presentable shirt. He observed that he was alone in this costume, and later he discovered that the purser had posted a notice on the bulletin board, evidently for the Drifter's express guidance, requesting gentlemen to wear their coats when on deck. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

La Follette and the One-Track Liberal Mind

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I would like to engage you to put some barbed wire on a fence and, if possible, to remove the fence if I do not get results. I think you can do this job better than anyone I know.

The position of "on-the-fence" liberals in this campaign has become so untenable that something must be done to make them jump either one way or the other. If a little barbed wire is not effective, will you remove the fence? It won't be needed after election day. One liberal with whom I have spoken cannot support my candidate for President because he thinks Senator La Follette is wet; another refuses because of the Senator's League of Nations position; a third because he still prefers to believe some newspaper reports (since retracted) of what Senator La Follette said about the war—rather than what the Senator did say. In each case there were no other objections; but that one reason seemed enough to cause them to withhold their support—at least openly.

You might think from this that the other candidates met with the unqualified approval of those liberals. They do not. Now, why do liberals demand that their own candidate agree with each one of them fully and are able to turn to one of the other candidates with whom, if they have been honest, they have disagreed on many points? Is it because some pet hobby is their only excuse for having been classed among liberals? Or is the charge true that they get more of a thrill out of being an "anti" something or other than "pro" anything? Or do you suppose there is too much "yellow in their pink"? Are they glad to seize upon anything to avoid taking a definite stand?

At this time, the first genuine opportunity in over fifty years to do something constructive for all the people, some of us who ought to know better are straining at a gnat and swallowing—an elephant or donkey, as the case may be. Liberals of every kind and shade, political, economic, racial, and religious, have united under the La Follette-Wheeler banner, knowing that this is their big opportunity. We cannot lose under any circumstances, no matter what the election result. We have already won our greatest victory because we have destroyed the best weapon reaction has ever had—its ability to keep us divided. Perhaps, having been accustomed so long to perching on the fence, it would embarrass their sensibilities if some of our liberals had to sit back on a hard chair with their feet solidly on the ground, instead of poised in mid-air.

La Follette-Wheeler Progressive Headquarters,
Chicago, August 28 DAVID K. NILES

[We agree with Mr. Niles that it is the time for all true liberals to show their colors. We have already stated that we are not in accord with all of Mr. La Follette's program, but so far as we can recall in its fifty-nine years of existence as a political weekly, *The Nation* has never yet found a political platform entirely to its liking from beginning to end. The great, dominating reason why all liberals should join La Follette is the man's compelling honesty and the sincerity of his platform. If we were assured that he could not put through a single legislative reform if elected we should still be for him, for the country needs nothing so much as his humane, warm-hearted, unselfish, peace-loving, anti-imperialist spirit in the Government at Washington. Any liberal who hesitates now because he does not like some one or two planks comes perilously near betraying the cause of liberalism.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

The Rodeo Emigrates

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: English criticism of the rodeo, active as it has been, is not so effective as recent Midwestern reactions to such displays. England talks, and goes to see the terrible American show. The Middle West says nothing, and stays away. An experienced rodeo manager committed suicide not long ago in Excelsior Springs, Missouri, because his benches were empty and his debts in the thousands. I am credibly informed that rodeos have of late been unremunerative throughout our entire Middle Western territory. A rodeo held recently in Kansas City, Missouri, for the benefit of policemen and firemen's widows (a hitherto unfailing appeal) went bankrupt, leaving a large deficit in the widows' fund. The local humane society, largely dependent for its efforts on police support, found it useless to forbid the production; but the refusal of the public to attend was more forceful than any injunction.

Perhaps we are near enough to the cow country to know the difference between a spirited horse and one which bucks from pain and rage at an electric battery under the saddle, and to resent seeing cattle uselessly badgered in a ring. If rodeos have been popular and profitable in recent years, it has been on the Atlantic seaboard, and I understood that Tex Austin's show went abroad for lack of an audience at home.

Kansas City, Missouri, September 1 RUTH MARY WEEKS

Women's Wages and the Law

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: With the argument and conclusion of your two brief editorials in the issue of July 30 on the Massachusetts decision in the minimum-wage case we are in entire accord. In view of the adverse decisions in the two federal child-labor cases, and of Justice Sutherland's decision in the District of Columbia minimum-wage case, and especially of the dicta which broaden its scope, the National Consumers' League could logically take no other position. But your premise seems to go too far.

You say, "Now that the highest court of Massachusetts has overthrown the essential feature of the minimum-wage law of that State, there seems to be no future for such legislation in this country without an amendment to the Constitution." What the Massachusetts decision overthrows is the penalty clause which, while important, is not the essential feature of the law.

The essential features of an effective minimum-wage law are two. The first is provision for cooperative inquiry into the wages actually paid to women and minors and the amount re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quired for maintaining them in health, by official wage boards equipped with wide powers—these boards being established under a minimum-wage law and composed of representatives of employers and employees. The second essential is wide publicity for findings of wage boards as to the cost of living, as to rates established by the board, and names of employers who fail to comply with the requirements.

Publicity is not necessarily confined to newspaper advertising, important as that is. A State has various organs of publicity of its own, including reports, bulletins, and other issues of which the purchasing public ean effectively avail itself.

Miss Ethel Johnson, the official most intimately in touch with the Massachusetts minimum-wage boards, asserts that the great majority of employers have paid the rates decreed, not for fear of being punished by advertisement but because the rates were reasonable, being arrived at by representatives of employers and employees.

Even without compulsion, it is probable that a number of Massachusetts papers will willingly print lists of employers who refuse to obey the law, as soon as the legislature enacts an amending clause providing that editors shall not be held guilty of libel who print in good faith the findings of a minimum-wage board offered in good faith by a duly constituted authority.

Such a safeguarding amending clause could, it is true, conceivably be held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. But until that is done, a federal amendment will hardly be sought by this league.

We are convinced that the Supreme Court can readily distinguish between the circumstances which led it to hold the District of Columbia law unconstitutional, and the circumstances which obtain in California and Kansas, where minimum-wage laws are before the Supreme Court of the State. The California law has a penalty clause similar to that of the District of Columbia law. But California is not the District of Columbia. A State legislature is obviously not Congress; and we cannot reasonably assume that all is lost unless there should be an adverse decision in one or both of these cases by the federal Supreme Court.

Meantime we shall continue to urge the enactment, by the States, of minimum-wage laws following the Massachusetts precedent, with such modifications as the recent decision suggests.

If after the highest courts of California, Kansas, and the United States have spoken in these cases it shall appear that under the federal. Constitution as interpreted by the present court the women of the United States are, in fact, deprived of protective legislation, there will undoubtedly be nation-wide demands for a federal amendment and for effective limitations upon the veto power of the courts of State and nation.

The voting women of the United States will not rest content with any legal instrument or with any court which establishes a permanent right of employers to pay to masses of women compensation on which they cannot maintain themselves in health.

Brooklin, Maine, August 15 FLORENCE KELLEY,
General Secretary, National Consumers' League

For Gandhi

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you let me speak for Gandhi of India, who is trying to gain Swaraj for his country after the peaceful and constructive manner of the East, reminding Mr. Kunz (who wrote a letter Against Gandhi in your issue of August 6), that, far from "exaggerating," *The Nation* has yet to give the entire truth about this political-spiritual program?

I can only take up some of the definite misstatements in Mr. Kunz's letter; the manifest misleading quality of its general tone I cannot hope to combat. First, there has been no "execration," no "provocative" language on Gandhi's part. I challenge anyone to present the slightest proof of such a charge. Gandhi preaches "non-violence in thought, word, and deed," and to an almost unbelievable degree he has practiced his preaching. There has been violence on the part of his followers; that was only to be expected, for not all India's 320 millions have the pacific tradition or temperament. That this violence has been almost negligible considering the size of India, the population, and the intense provocation, I assert. If Chauri-Chaura is a "good specimen" of the blood-horror, Mr. Kunz's case falls flat. Twenty-seven policemen were killed, and this admittedly at the time of the most intense excitement of the exciting year that preceded Gandhi's "polite" arrest. Malabar was much more serious, but it was entirely outside the area of Gandhi's work, and, moreover, he was early in the trouble prevented by the Government from going to the scene of action. Cases of violence as notable as these two could be numbered on the fingers of one hand, and they do not prove that "Gandhi is not a man of his word" but simply that it was not humanly possible for him to restrain 100 per cent of his people.

Now for politics. It is true that the Besant group began the movement that Gandhi has undertaken to finish, but the finish of it is not the farcial "reform Councils." It is not a fact that they "united the country" and "gave it hope and enthusiasm." Gandhi did that, and the answer of the Government was his arrest, and this at a time when he had not demanded separation from the Empire. He has not yet asked this, though one group in India does ask it. Gandhi is "visionary." Jesus was visionary. So was the Sermon on the Mount, upon which the Indian non-violent non-cooperation movement is predicated. But the wildest promise Gandhi ever made was that if India would work the program he had laid down, India could get Swaraj in nine months. Always he emphasized the "if."

And now for the last paragraph of *The Nation's* correspondent. The country was not united in 1917, except in indignation at the horror of the recruiting method of the Government! Politically it was finding itself. Dyer and Amritsar helped it wonderfully. Gandhi was never a "tool" for the Islamic interests. He saw the value of making use of the Treaty of Sèvres to bring about a Hindu-Moslem entente. That was generalship. He was not driven into "corner after corner." It was the other way around. His arrest was not proof of failure. It was indicative of the fact that he was getting too close to victory. Spiritually Gandhi has not "lost footing." The political fortunes of the non-cooperation struggle will have their ebb and flow; battles will be lost and battles will be won. If Gandhi should be taken away the Gandhi idea will persist, and its constructive working out in different parts of the world will furnish the necessary counter-balance to the violence and the blood-lust of the West.

New York, August 15 BLANCHE WATSON

Contributors to This Issue

GILSON GARDNER is the Washington correspondent for the Scripps newspapers.

M. VAERTING, one of a group of German anthropologists whose lectures and articles have attracted much attention in Europe, is also part author of "The Dominant Sex," recently published in the United States.

PAUL BLANSHARD is field secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy.

THOMAS CRAVEN is well known as a critic and as the author of "Paint."

H. L. MENCKEN, editor of the *American Mercury*, has contributed many reviews and articles to *The Nation*.

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist candidate for Governor of New York, is a contributing editor of *The Nation*.

HENRY T. FINCK was for many years music critic of the New York *Evening Post*.

EMIL LENGYEL contributes many articles and reviews on foreign affairs to current periodicals.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dew and Bronze

By ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN

Is it worth the dancing,
  This mayfly trance of life,
Dreaming, hoeing, yearning,
  Taking one a wife?
Frosts and winds, brief roses
  Heaped across the world,
Then to long, long sleeping
  In the gravestead curled.

Athens in white marble
  Says it's worth the pains
And white daisies marching
  Down the country lanes,
Candles and brief babies,
  The brittle wares of home,
Greek tales of gods unaging,
  And that high town called Rome.

Books

Art and Jazz

The Seven Lively Arts. By Gilbert Seldes. Harper and Brothers. $4.

IN a general sense all organizing activity, regardless of materials or medium, may be called artistic. Undoubtedly the conscientious barber is a "tonsorial artist" who derives a certain amount of aesthetic satisfaction from his work. Fitness, neatness, and precision have side-currents of emotional appreciation, and a good job of hair-cutting is accompanied by mental reactions intrinsically akin to those experienced from higher forms of activity. Art values differ only in degree; and so closely related and mixed is the stuff of life that it is practically impossible at times to ascertain at what point an emotional element attains independence and distinction in its own right. Thus it happens that beginners in aesthetics, on discovering the same psychological constituents in higher and lower forms, are moved to unseemly enthusiasms, and are led to magnify the significance of the antic or "lively arts," as Mr. Seldes labels them. Psychological values have been so driven into creative processes that the end and purpose of these processes have been buried in a mass of subjective commentary. Now, I do not deny the importance of the subjective life; nor would I take credit from the critics who are probing our impulses, tracing the sources of our desires, and analyzing the machinery of our preferences. This is valuable in so far as it reveals the quantitative nature of human effort and establishes a sort of continuity of life; but its whole tendency is to reduce all achievement to the same level.

Criticism today is permeated with the ambition to level objective values. Mr. Seldes is only one of many who, under the pressure of a new attitude toward creativeness, have lost their bearings. Having discovered, like many others, that qualitative differences do not exist, he jumps joyfully to the popular conclusion that there are no fundamental differences in the products of human energy. He assumes that because aesthetic impulses are involved in jazz activity, these performances must necessarily be significant and "valuable expressions of American life." His spiritual family would include Michelangelo and the artist of the comic strip, Shelley and Ring Lardner, the barber, the clown, and Irving Berlin. May I admit here that from the subjective point of view he is right—they are undeniably branches of the same old human tree? But I must mention another approach to art: one opposed to the cult of the new intelligentsia who "find themselves" in photography, vaudeville, and the comic strip; one that is not unaware of the part played by subjective processes, and yet, at the same time, is not blind to the more permanent questions of purpose and meaning; one that measures the social importance of idealism, and draws a sharp line between commercialized art and the forms which tell truthfully, or at least with serious intent, the story of the artist in the face of experience.

The art which travels hand in hand with modern commercialism is either nonsense or sentimental invention. That it contains psychological elements also found in higher forms in no way proves its claim to permanent worth. Pure fantasy, buffoonery, "Yes, We Have No Bananas," the tomfoolery of the column writers are vagaries of the human soul, but are not, on that account, of any constructive importance. The characters of the comic strip, while amusing and often ingeniously done, reflect a cynical and weary attitude toward the world. There is something in American life, in the madness of business, which forces "lively artists," sensitive men without faith and with little strength of soul, into eccentric play. The creative impulse, striving inwardly for recognition, finds no genuine outlet, and the unpleasantness of the inhibition is minimized in horseplay and plaintive silliness. All this, of course, is very interesting—it compensates for a profound void in our social life; and none of us who is truly American can deny having participated with pleasure in one or another of such manifestations, either actively as creator or "aesthetically" as audience. But objectively it is sheer nonsense; and to regard as form or organized experience such ragged constructiveness witnesses an inability to understand differences of degree which are the fundamental distinctions of life. The "lively arts" need no encouragement; in fact, the demand for comedians is so disproportionate as to make it worth while for metropolitan newspapers to pay third-rate gossips to chronicle their philanderings, and to employ as critics men who begin by professing to know everything and end by apologizing for their ignorance.

Art is produced only when the suggestive quality remains subordinate to the object; when the content is so wedded to the form that no separation is possible. In the "lively arts" all is suggestion, and the form is completely overridden by the comic idea. These expressions cannot be considered as objectively valuable—their significance is purely sociological. The surest test of aesthetic validity is permanence of appeal.

THOMAS CRAVEN

Wizards and High Priests

A Dictionary of Secret and Other Societies. By Arthur Preuss. The B. Herder Book Company. $3.50.

THIS is a handbook for the use of Catholic parish priests, compiled to give them information "on the subject of secret and other societies into which Catholics are liable to be drawn." The faithful, it appears, are often lured by Satan in the guise of joiners in red belly-bands and purple plumes, and even their spiritual directors are sometimes deceived. The Ku Klux, of course, is easy to detect, and so are the Freemasons, with their occult and sinister history, but what of the humble Knights of Pythias, the Red Men, the Odd Fellows, the Order of Shepherds of Bethlehem, the Supreme Commandery of the Universal Brotherhood, the Loyal Order of Moose? Here it is more difficult to discern the cloven hoof, but here, in most cases, it is nevertheless. The objection to these benevolent and rosicrucian fraternities, it appears, is not primarily that they are secret, for do not the Knights of Columbus also take oaths? The objection is that nearly all of them profess to be pious, and carry on religious ceremonies of their own invention, to the scandal and damage of Holy Church. Hence the decree *Amplitudinem tuam* of June 20, 1894, solemnly condemning the "Sociorum nempe Singularium, Filiorum Temperantiae et Equi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tum Pythiae," i. e., the Odd Fellows, Sons of Temperance, and Knights of Pythias. All have lofty purposes and all accept Holy Writ as beyond cavil or caveat, but all also dress up green-grocers and garage mechanics in chromatic chasubles and call them chaplains—or maybe Grand Worthy Rectors, Imperial Didaskaloses, or Transcendental Grail-Bearers—and so bring down upon themselves the anathema of the S. Congregation of the Holy Office.

Mr. Preuss, the editor of this strange dictionary, has very little humor, but he is apparently a man of much diligence, for he has accumulated a great deal of information about the mysterious brotherhoods he deals with, and some of it is very curious. He has been at the business for years, and seems to have an almost complete set of their secret books of ritual. In two pregnant pages, for example, he unveils all of the dark work of the Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, of which the sainted Harding was an eminent member. One recalls the Shriners, in their public aspect, simply as long ranks of stout men marching down the street under a broiling sun, with fezes on their heads, barbaric bangles on their paunches, and scimitars in their hands. In their private chambers, according to Mr. Preuss, they engage in proceedings of a far more turbulent character—some, indeed, verging upon the goatish. For example, when they initiate a candidate. This ceremony is in charge of a high priest and seven inquisitors. At its climax the candidate is

> conducted to the Grand Potentate, whom he is commanded to approach with humble and great reverence, stooping very low on his knees, his head near the ground, his buttocks elevated. He then receives the Grand Salaam, that is, a blow on his buttocks with two pieces of board between which are placed some torpedoes, which explode with a loud report. This is called the Grand Salaam, or Stroke of Introduction.

Even worse follows. The candidate is blindfolded, and then stripped. When the handkerchief is removed from his eyes, he finds himself confronting what appears to be an audience of ladies, "with bonneted faces and capes showing, the rest of their bodies hid by a screen." They are, of course, not ladies, nor even females, but simply Shriners swathed in the rejected finery of their wives. But the candidate is usually staggered nevertheless, and sometimes he is so overcome that he has to be led to a seat. If so, he sits down upon a large sponge soaked in ice-water.

These refined jocosities, fortunately, are never lethal. Among the Moose, a more daring class of men, there is sometimes a fatal issue. Some years ago, for example, two candidates succumbed at Birmingham, Alabama. One was an iron-molder and the other was the president of the local chauffeurs' union. They were blindfolded and their chests were bared, and then the k. k. Duodenum announced in a dreadful voice that they were to be branded. The brand was simply a metal emblem attached to a magneto. When the current was turned on both men collapsed with fright, and the lodge physician was unable to revive them. They were buried with the full ritual of the order, though not yet members in the full sense. The Hon. James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor in the Cabinet of Dr. Coolidge, is the present head of the Moose, and reviewed their annual parade in New York a few months ago. I daresay there will be no more fatalities while he is boss.

Mr. Preuss is often unduly tart in his discussion of such worthy men. He smells brimstone in every lodge-room. He takes the solemn buffooneries of the chaplains far too seriously. His defect, in brief, is that of all other ecclesiastical and pseudo-ecclesiastical smellers, at all times and everywhere. Nevertheless, he has composed an extremely interesting and instructive book. Let it be translated forthwith into all the Christian tongues of the earth. The foreigner, reading it, will learn more about the United States than he could gather from a thousand bales of the state papers of Dr. Coolidge.

H. L. MENCKEN

The Voice of Mercy

Lord Shaftesbury. By J. L. and Barbara Hammond. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

IN an age of large two-volume biographies it is as comforting as surprising to find the story of one of the longest-lived and most useful of Victorians adequately told in a book of 276 pages. It is even more surprising to find how clear an impression is given of the subject's personality with only the briefest record of his home and private life as boy or man.

Lord Shaftesbury was the devout Christian aristocrat in politics. To the iron laws of the early Victorian economists by which children were made the slaves of the machine almost as soon as they could walk alone he opposed the law of his God, which was a law of mercy and of pity.

To us—unless we are alert to remember some of the cruelties of our own time and the absurd reasons given in extenuation of them—it seems almost incredible that it took one hundred and two years of agitation, as the Hammonds remind us, to abolish the needless cruelty of forcing boys to clean the chimneys of England. They began early. "Six was described as 'a nice trainable age.'" Shaftesbury became interested in the fate of these children in 1840 and did not see the passage of his bill which finally put an end to the evil until 1875.

The story of these climbing boys and of the far greater number of factory children the Hammonds tell soberly and graphically. They give also an excellent account of the treatment of the insane less than one hundred years ago and of Shaftesbury's long years of service for them. But these, after all, are not new tales.

What gives an absorbing interest to this book is the discerning picture of the character and ruling passion of this sensitive, lonely, courageous man. "A man so sensitive could not have worked as Shaftesbury worked for factory children, climbing boys, or the victims of the brick fields or the mine, if he had not been sustained by some special power of pity or hope due to religion or the love of freedom."

It was not the love of freedom which sustained Shaftesbury. Yet it must be remembered that this convinced aristocrat, this narrow churchman, never descended to that proscription of contrary opinion which so often characterizes the believer in authority. His greatest work was done as the accredited spokesman of labor unionists in whose trade unionism he did not believe. Late in life, during the attempts to organize the farm laborers, Shaftesbury wrote:

> I have had the agitators here [he regarded "agitators" with a kind of disdainful arrogance] to stir the people to a sense of their wrongs and an assertion of their rights. They earnestly requested the use of the schoolroom, which I gave them, and "to do the thing handsome" paid for the lights.

He set an example to his fundamentalist successors by refusing to vote against the endowment of the Greek chair at Oxford on the ground that Jowett was to be appointed. "Heaven knows," he wrote, "how I loathe the theology of Dr. Jowett, but we should not put him down by dishonoring his chair."

The religion which sustained Shaftesbury was, in many of its aspects, a dour and narrow Evangelicalism derived from his old nurse, the one friend of his neglected boyhood. It made him fight bands in the parks on Sunday with the moral fervor with which he supported his "ragged schools" or looked out for the interests of the insane. Yet it had about it a quality of invincible pity. The Hammonds acutely observe that the difference between Shaftesbury and such Evangelicals as Hannah More was

> like the difference between a hero and a villain in one of Dickens's novels. Hannah More reminded the starving laborers that they could have as much of the Gospel as they liked for nothing; Shaftesbury never looked on dis-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tress in this spirit, and he never thought that the rich had fulfilled their duties to the poor when they gave them a cheap copy of the Bible and a few improving tracts.

Only at two important points of social policy did his contemporaries have reason to blame rather than bless Shaftesbury's religious zeal. It made him the opponent of popular education lest it pass out of the hands of the church and of philanthropic Evangelicals, and it blinded him to the iniquity of the opium war. That worldly old prime minister, Lord Palmerston, had allowed his stepson-in-law, Shaftesbury, to appoint the bishops. Thus Palmerston seemed to Shaftesbury "an instrument for good" raised up by the Lord God, and when the House of Commons tardily passed a vote of censure on Palmerston for the Chinese war Shaftesbury saw in it only a shameful coalition to obtain office. This and Shaftesbury's opposition to the repeal of the corn laws—which was, of course exactly paralleled by the opposition of that other noble Englishman, John Bright, to the factory laws—were the chief positive blots on a record of urgent and intelligent devotion to humanitarian causes.

Negatively, there was Shaftesbury's failure to follow up the victories which he had won in factory legislation. The Hammonds point out the interesting paradox that the only agitation Shaftesbury led was the agitation of democrats, radicals, trade unionists, which he feared, while he held aloof from the later Christian Socialist movement which had in it not a little of the aristocratic temper of Shaftesbury himself. The reasons were many: financial difficulties, absorption in personal philanthropy, a curious sense of intellectual and moral isolation from his contemporaries. Yet the fact remains that if Shaftesbury's noble career of service shows the power of the ideal of the humanitarian aristocrat it also shows its limitations—even in England, most fertile soil for a Shaftesbury's efforts. It was not a mere accident that "till the workmen were enfranchised Disraeli did nothing; after Chartism collapsed Shaftesbury did little."

And yet I think the authors make their case that among other and stronger reasons which have made the social struggle less bitter in England than in Europe, the land of bloody revolutions, and America, land of bloody strikes, was the example of that Christian aristocrat who softened "in the manners of his age, as he had softened in its politics the savage logic of the Industrial Revolution."

NORMAN THOMAS

Music More than Tonal Fragrance

Music and Mind. By T. H. Yorke Trotter. George H. Doran Company. $3.50.

BLIND TOM was a Negro boy who could sit down at the piano and repeat correctly a piece never before heard that had just been played for him. He was an idiot—but never mind, or *nunquam mens*, as we used to translate it at Harvard.

How much mentality goes with music? John Burroughs considered music to be a mere matter of the senses, like the fragrance of a flower—only this and nothing more. He was a wise man, but this opinion was extraordinarily foolish. It would be difficult to match it; for, absolutely and beyond all controversy, the most complicated of all mental processes is the writing of an orchestral score. As Edward MacDowell used to say, it is of all things human that which comes nearest to divine creation.

A professor of Magdalen College, Oxford University, has revealed the striking fact that while only 10 per cent of the students of that college take music as one of their studies, these men win 75 per cent of all the many prizes and scholarships, leaving only 25 per cent of these awards to the 90 per cent of the students who do not take music! This amazing record was the average for thirty years. Three cheers for music!

If there is a call for a second edition of Mr. Trotter's book "Music and Mind"—as there ought to be, for it is a good book—he is welcome to these facts; they will add much force to his arguments in favor of teaching music at educational institutions. How many students could remain deaf to the revelation made at Oxford that a musically trained mind increases tremendously one's chances of winning a prize or a scholarship?

While much progress has been made in recent years in the attention paid to music in schools, Mr. Trotter, who is an Englishman and a Mus. Doc. Oxon., is not satisfied. Present shortcomings are the more deplorable in view of the fact that Aristotle, twenty-two centuries ago, pointed out that music is useful for relaxation as well as for pleasure and that it has power to form the character and influence the soul, wherefore "the young should be educated in it."

If, these many years after Aristotle, music still occupies a subordinate position in our educational institutions, it is because its real value has been overlooked in our eagerness for technical skill.

Only a part of Mr. Trotter's book, however, is concerned with the educational side of the art. Other chapters are devoted to the question of music's power over us and to a description of the material with which the tonal art is built up. He does not believe that music can express definitely single emotions, for the reason that, in the words of Herbert Spencer, "Emotions are composed of enormously complex aggregates of elements that are never quite alike, and which stand in relations that are never quite alike." But it is this very indefiniteness of the musical utterance which, in Mr. Trotter's opinion, gives it its strength.

Musical genius is usually supposed to be a gift beyond control, but Mr. Trotter urges that the creative instinct can, like other things, be strengthened by use. Like many other writers of our time, he talks about the strange activity of the unconscious mind; why do none of these writers refer to Eduard v. Hartmann, whose "Philosophy of the Unconscious" some of us studied under Professor Bowen as long ago as 1875?

HENRY T. FINCK

Dies Irae

Autocracy and Revolution in Russia. By Baron Sergius A. Korff. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

AS old as sociology itself is the discovery that autocracy and revolution are synonymous in many respects. Pioneers of the science of social phenomena expressed their naive surprise at the striking resemblance between these seemingly different forms of social abnormity in the paradoxical statement that while autocracy is the revolution of the future, revolution is the autocracy of the past.

A correct appraisal of autocracy as a cause of the Russian revolution prompted Baron Sergius A. Korff to devote his attention primarily to the interpretation of the autocracy of Czardom. His findings are embodied in the present volume, which is a close version of a series of six lectures he gave before the students of Northwestern University.

"The revolution was the necessary outcome of the social readjustment that was taking place in Russia during the three last decades"—is the key-note that Baron Korff sounds in the preface of his book. He elaborates his theme in the first four chapters which represent as many outstanding elements of the subsequent Russian *dies irae*. Ruthless autocracy, handled by the class of the bureaucrats created particularly for this purpose, aided or supervised, as the case may be, by a degenerate aristocracy, necessarily brought its own negation. The Russian peasant, kept in ignorance for centuries, fooled with so-called reforms and semi-reforms, obsessed by a ravishing hunger for the soil on which his existence was conditioned, was the best material imaginable for the solid mass of the revolutionary

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

phalanx. The events following the Russo-Japanese war are only a semi-articulate expression of that revolutionary tendency which had been living in the spirit of the Russian nation for the three last decades.

Baron Korff very precisely points out that the revolution of the soul and of the intellect is the primary consideration in an upheaval like that in Russia and not the political changes which take place almost automatically. Consequently, the Russian revolution dates far back into the last decades of the eighteenth century, and all that came after it was only the seeking of the direction of least resistance by the revolutionary era and the organization of its forces that it might take up the struggle with an overwhelmingly strong autocratic order.

On the whole, Baron Korff takes a sympathetic stand toward the Kerensky revolution, and although he is violently opposed to the Russian Soviet regime he makes every effort to be fair in his criticism of it.

It must be said in favor of the book that it is one of those few attempts at the writing of contemporary history in which the chief interest of the author is in the "unhistorical" masses and not in some arbitrarily selected "heroes," in the Carlylean sense of the word. This attitude bears out strongly the conviction of the author that the events which have recently forced Russia into the limelight of history are the consequence of the eruption of irrepressible natural forces beyond the control of the human factor. EMIL LENGYEL

Irving Babbitt Continues

Democracy and Leadership. By Irving Babbitt. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

ALL of Mr. Babbitt's customary bitter brilliance is in this latest book of his, which continues the application of theses developed from "Literature and the American College" through the most famous of his series, "Rousseau and Romanticism." As usual the burden of his animadversion is directed against Rousseau, and the positive trend of his argument is toward the inner discipline. An appreciation of the keen cut of his criticisms of what he terms modernist, as contrasted with modern, makes carping at other aspects of his book rather difficult without giving the impression that a total dissent is intended. Such is never the case.

The great problem of modern times is to discover leaders with standards, Mr. Babbitt contends, and democracy fails in proportion as it fails to find such leaders. Standards are to be arrived at by a cooperation of the imagination and the intellect, and the standards so secured are to be subordinated to the ethical will. Intellect is "the power in man that analyzes and discriminates and traces causes and effects." Imagination consists of what we perceive and conceive of the world outside. The ethical will is not peculiarly Western, but Eastern, and found chiefly in Buddha and Confucius; it is opposed to the pride of the intellect which is Greek, and in the modern world a product of the Renaissance, taken up then as a reaction against the total subordination of the individual will and also the intellect, to God's will, customary in the Middle Ages. The will seems to be a principle of inner control, individual in its origins. Its elevation to a primary place does not destroy the intellect, which is still regarded as one of the primary instruments of personality, but destroys its pride. For every Ormuzd Mr. Babbitt evolves he develops a corresponding Ahriman. Opposite the perfect individual developed per specifications above he places his own personal devil: the expansionist, the Rousseauist, the modernist, the imperialist, as he variously denominates him.

This not very unusual habit of mind is not conducive to absolute clarity. He is constantly developing opposites, but the most fundamental opposition seems to be between the disciples of Rousseau and Mr. Babbitt himself. He is the hero holding standards against the armies of destruction. Rousseau, be it to his credit, raised the right questions, but, alas, gave the wrong answers. Happily for the world Mr. Babbitt can supply the correct ones to those curious enough to read his books. The questions Rousseau raised are implicit in the advice he gave the world. His peculiar crime was to take away the integrating center in personality and place the emphasis on the periphery, necessitating the development of an external discipline or social-reform legislation. He released man from inner discipline and told him to expand, without considering the quality that was to result. From this reprehensible piece of advice has proceeded sentimentalism, literary and social. Social sentimentalism in the first place leads to imperialism—a carrying over into the social field of the expansionist element in the individual—and to humanitarianism or social reform in the second place. Literary sentimentalism is not considered in this book. Democracy by applying the quantitative rather than the qualitative test to results has broken down standards, and has elevated the divine average (Ahriman) at the expense of the saving remnant (Ormuzd-Babbitt). Now democracy has been led to this pernicious error by Rousseau, who tried to release man from his inhibitions personal and social—who expanded him. Apparently Mr. Babbitt fears that man, like a toy balloon, is going to continue to expand until he bursts. Just why that is less preferable than what is the alternative—disciplining the personality as per method above, until its logical end will be to shrivel up and blow away—I do not know.

Somewhat crudely the theses of this brilliant book have been indicated. Logical application of the assumptions leads Mr. Babbitt to condemn such various phenomena as American imperialism, the elective system in colleges, labor leaders, and Freudians as expansionists. He is so obsessed with disciplining the individual against what he is pleased to call sentimentalism that he aligns himself with very ordinary conservative positions. He says: "Every form of social justice, indeed, tends to confiscation and confiscation, when practiced on a large scale, undermines moral standards and, in so far, substitutes for real justice the law of cunning and the law of force." This seems to me logical, but, unhappily, not very good common sense, for not everyone will agree with the basic proposition.

Not all of Mr. Babbitt's *bêtes noires* have been mentioned. Nor have the finer shades of his arguments, positive and negative, been indicated. His learning is very great and he has a high gift for apt quotation. But in the bitterness with which he excoriates his enemies is the seed of his defeat. One tends closely to examine his positive arguments and their speciousness becomes apparent. By his own confession his ideal personality is "easier to outline than to accomplish." Nor should the brilliance with which he states the necessity for considering the problem of leadership and the brilliance with which he sets up his procedure for arriving at standards blind one to the fact that he fails to illuminate the central problem of leadership in democracy: the method by which desirable leaders are to gain and maintain their position. That of course requires an intimate knowledge of modern social psychology and sociology which Mr. Babbitt neither in the text nor the bibliography gives evidence of possessing. C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

Books in Brief

Pandora Lifts the Lid. By Christopher Morley and Don Marquis. George H. Doran Company. $2.

This delightfully preposterous book reeks with a gay whimsicality. It is a kind of highly modernized "Treasure Island." The Inn is replaced by a fashionable seminary, the explorers by a sextet of irresistible, imaginative sub-debs, and the pirates by real, sure-nuff bootleggers. The hair-raising adventures undertaken in the glorious cause of radicalism are topped off by a deliciously unsentimental and naive love affair. . . . The type of book that makes one feel good-humoredly ashamed of being a day over twenty years old.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Augustus Carp, Esq. By Himself. Being the Autobiography of a Really Good Man. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.

This pompously humorous book was very obviously written by an Englishman. It purports to be the autobiography of a certain young man who not only felt sure that he was very, very good but who also spent much of his time trying in a most inopportune and brazen manner to convert others to his own laboriously proper and exacting standards. In several spots the book is undeniably entertaining. Yet it will fail to appeal to a large number of people in this country because of the fact that so many Americans feel that a proselytizing, evangelizing, professionally good person is simply not a laughable figure but rather pathetic—and very annoying. . . . The illustrations by Robin, on the other hand, are uproariously superb, and all too few.

LECTURES and AMUSEMENTS

Provincetown Playhouse—Greenwich Village Theatre

Subscription Season

$11.00, *incl. tax,* **5 bills** — **$11.00,** *incl. tax.* **5 bills** Orchestra

$16.50, opening nights — **$ 8.25,** *incl. tax.* **5 bills** Balcony

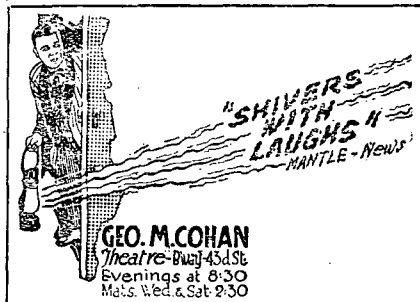
$20.00, *incl. tax,* **10 bills, 5 at Provincetown Playhouse, 5 at Greenwich Village Theatre.**

At the Provincetown

The Great God Brown, by Eugene O'Neill; The Crime in the Whistler Room, by Edmund Wilson; The Colonnade, by Stark Young; Beyond, by Walter Hasenclever; Love for Love, by William Congreve.

At the Greenwich

Desire Under the Elms, by Eugene O'Neill; The Saint, by Stark Young; The Last Night of Don Juan, by Edmond Rostand; Much Ado About Nothing, by William Shakespeare; The Brothers Karamazoff, by Jacques Copeau.



IS YOUR LAUGHTER FARCICAL OR PSYCHICAL?

LEWIS & GORDON present THE HAUNTED HOUSE by OWEN DAVIS SUCCESSOR to "The NERVOUS WRECK" with WALLACE EDDINGER

ARTHUR HOPKINS presents

"WHAT PRICE GLORY"

A New Play by Maxwell Anderson and Laurence Stallings

PLYMOUTH THEATRE 45th St. W. of B'way. Evs. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30.

GREAT DEBATE of the CAMPAIGN!

SOCIALISM versus LAFOLLETTISM

SCOTT NEARING — Foremost Radical Spokesman — *versus* — **MEYER LONDON** — First Socialist Congressman and Labor Attorney

Chairman to be announced

SUBJECT

Resolved: THAT NO CLASS-CONSCIOUS SOCIALIST WORKER CAN OR SHOULD VOTE FOR LA FOLLETTE.

Mr. NEARING, Affirmative — Mr. LONDON, Negative

Sunday, October 5, 1924, at 3 P. M.

Central Opera House, 67th Street and 3rd Avenue

Tickets, $1.10 (incl. war tax)

On sale at Jimmie Higgins Bookshop, 127 University Place; Gothic Art Book Store, 176 Second Avenue; Katz's Music Store, 181 E. Broadway; Epstein's Drug Store, 1674 Madison Avenue; Stern's Jewelry Store, 1337 Wilkins Avenue, Bronx; Neidorf's Book Store, 1817 Pitkin Avenue, Brooklyn; Katz's Drug Store, 78 Graham Avenue, Brooklyn, or at the offices of and by mail from

THE LEAGUE FOR PUBLIC DISCUSSION

500 FIFTH AVENUE — Tel. Longacre 10435-10434

SINGING JAILBIRDS

By UPTON SINCLAIR

The hero of this drama is a class-war prisoner in solitary confinement; the entire play happens in a city jail, the last three acts in an underground dungeon eight feet long, five feet wide, and seven feet high. It contains many adventures—jazz, jungles, a Dominie, a Chink, a rosary, a slop-pail, an abortion, a miracle, rats, bulls, stool-pigeons en casserole, pie in the sky, a ranch, a roadhouse, and the Hall of Hate.

EUGENE O'NEILL: "The play is fine stuff—strong and true—and I've been deeply moved by it. A treat to read it!"

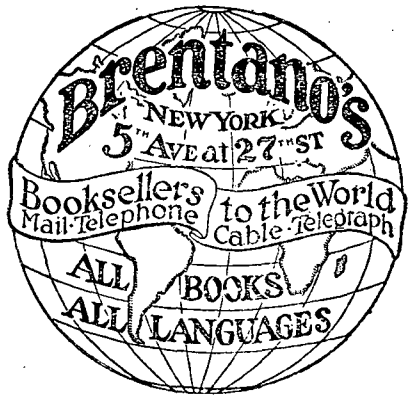
MRS. UPTON SINCLAIR: "The only work of art that Upton Sinclair has produced."

FLOYD DELL: "A better example of the expressionistic drama than any I have seen."

MICHAEL GOLD: "You are that genius of whom I prophesied, saying that he would arise to write the truth about California, only to be immediately hung by the vigilantes. It is terrible, bitter truth, and some of the scenes brought the tears to my newspaper-sterile eyes. . . . The play has a great sweep, and a real power in moving the heart. Some of the scenes are like a real experience—the loss of one's friend by death, the pangs of loneliness or prison experienced again."

Price 25 cents postpaid. One copy free with "The Goslings" and "The Goose-Step," paper-bound, both for $1.50; or both cloth-bound, $3.00.

UPTON SINCLAIR, Pasadena, California



The Bedford Barrow Co-operative Apartments

in Greenwich Village

are genuine, non-profit co-operatives.

Thirty-five apartments, 4, 5 and 6 rooms.

Initial Investment $1,230 to $2,400.

Monthly Charges $50 to $100 (approx.) (Including mortgage payments)

Write for Information to:—

Consumers' Co-operative Housing Association, Inc.

70 Fifth Ave. Room 411 Chelsea 0432

Affiliated with

THE CO-OPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE U. S. A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

Rumanian Oil and Foreign Money

By EMIL LENGYEL

ON June 30 the Rumanian Parliament passed the so-called "mining law" which has caused serious complications in Rumania's international relations. Peter Jay, American Minister at Bucharest, in concert with the representatives of the Western European Powers, protested against the passage of the act. When it became evident that his protest was of no avail the American Minister left Bucharest for Washington in order to "report the case to his Government," as the official communique ran. At the same time, the Vienna paper, *Die Boerse*, reports, the Administration in Washington called the loan which had been granted to Rumania during the war. This report has not been confirmed as yet.

The mining law provides for nationalization of the subsoil in Rumania. In the case of oil territories the granting of concessions, even if the oil deposits are in private territory, is a sovereign right of the state. The validity of the concessions is limited to fifty years. Those concessions, however, which had been acquired prior to the passage of the mining law will be in force until the expiration of their terms or until 1957, whichever period is shorter. Renewals of concessions can be granted by private owners of oil-fields only until 1957 when Rumania's sub-soil will, in its entirety, become the property of the nation. Thus, until 1957 the nationalization act affects only the oil territories that either had not been leased out prior to June 30, 1924, or whose leases are terminated in the meantime.

Other sections of the law provide for the "Rumanianization" of the oil companies by decreeing that 55 per cent of the capital stock of any oil company must be held by Rumanian citizens. The turning over of the majority of the shares to Rumanian citizens must be effected within ten years. Another drastic regulation of the new law is that two-thirds of the board of directors of oil corporations, their chairmen and auditors, must be Rumanians. The Government is vested with the power to dismiss, at its discretion, any manager of an oil company and to replace him with another. If public interest requires, the pipe-lines of any oil corporation may be expropriated. An interesting provision of the new law is that the employees of oil concerns shall participate in 15 per cent of the annual net profit of the company.

These provisions of the mining law have been described by the foreign offices of Western Europe and America as "confiscatory" and "detrimental to the interests" of those of their nationals who had invested in the Rumanian oil-fields. The Rumanian Government insisted that it was free to regulate the exploitation of oil for the best interests of the country even if this implied the limitation or exclusion of foreign capital from participation in Rumania's most important national industry.

The arguments of the Rumanian Government in favor of the mining law are based upon political and economic considerations. It is claimed that foreign oil companies have shown a tendency to eliminate native capital from Rumania's oil industry. The recent history of Mosul and of Persia where American and English oil interests have been carrying on bitter feuds served as a hint to Rumania that it was not always safe for a small country to extend hospitality to foreign oil concerns.

In the last two decades there have been indications that the stage was set in Rumania for an oil war of large proportions. Notwithstanding a considerable amount of official animosity, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey made its appearance in Rumania. It is charged that the Standard Oil, unable to obtain petroleum territories directly from the state, had established native buying concerns which bought the oil-fields and resold them to the American concern. Under the name of Societate Romano-Americana the Standard Oil at last succeeded in intrenching itself in Rumania. Its competitor, the Royal Dutch-Shell combination, began business as the Astra Romana.

In order to counterbalance the supremacy of the American and English-Dutch concerns, King Charles of Rumania before the war induced two German banks, the Deutsche Bank and the Disconto Gesellschaft, to participate in the exploitation of Rumanian oil. These two banks founded the Steaua Romana, which became the most powerful oil company in Rumania and successfully maintained a balance of power in the oil-fields. After the war, however, German interests in Rumanian oil were passed over to other companies. In the Steaua Romana Rumanians acquired a 50 per cent participation but the other ex-German oil concerns were taken by foreigners. Thus the two great rivals, Standard Oil and Royal Dutch, again dominated the stage.

A diplomatic blunder, committed four years ago, helped to make the Rumanian Government realize the seriousness of the situation. It was in 1920, at the San Remo Conference, that Great Britain, represented by Sir John Cadman, and France, represented by Philippe Berthelot, agreed to concert the political action of their countries regarding the claims of their nationals in the oil-fields of Rumania. The United States, whose representatives observed unofficially the proceedings of the conference, protested against the agreement and demanded that the "policy of the open door" be respected in Rumania.

Both the San Remo agreement and America's protest were considered by the Rumanian Government as an affront. The staking out of claims in Rumania by British and French interests as well as the dissatisfied gesture of America seemed to indicate a belief that the government and parliament of the country over which they had been quarreling was only a negligible quantity. Some extremists went so far as to declare that the next step of the "Westerners" would be to demand the internationalization of Rumania's seaports and the introduction of capitulatory rights. Subsequently, a press campaign in the Rumanian papers brought out the fact, among others, that in an oil-producing area of 8,500 acres which is being drilled now in Rumania more than 6,000 acres belong to foreign corporations. Even more disadvantageous for the Rumanians is the ratio of the reserve oil-fields which are now being held by foreign concerns. Out of an estimated total of 55,000 acres of reserve fields foreign companies hold about 53,000 acres.

To what lengths the animosity against foreign oil

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

corporations had gone was recently demonstrated in a bitter press campaign conducted by Rumania's leading oil periodical, the *Romana Petrolifera*. In a series of articles, entitled the American Peril, this newspaper accused the Romano-Americana of "unfair competition" and "utter disregard of the sensibilities of the Rumanian nation." "The Romano-Americana," says the paper, "excluded Rumanians from the staff of its employees notwithstanding the fact that it is living on Rumanian soil. Its officers and most of its employees are Americans who have no knowledge of the Rumanian language."

The passage of the mining law entailed serious consequences for Rumania not only by provoking the wrath of the foreign offices of the great Powers, but also from an economic point of view. According to a dispatch from Bucharest, Prime Minister John Bratianu has declared that Tancred Constantinescu, Rumanian Minister of Commerce, had been unable to obtain a foreign loan. In order to demonstrate their solidarity with the foreign oil corporations whose rights had been affected by the mining law and to express their dismay over this step of the Rumanian legislature the Western money-lenders refused even to consider the possibility of a loan.

The calling of the war loan by America makes the position of the Rumanian Government even more difficult. One should not be misled by the fact that the total amount of this loan is not more than $44,000,000. For the Rumanian treasury, in its present crisis, this is an enormous amount which it cannot hope to refund. It is feared that, following the American example, Rumania's other war-time creditors, too, will demand their money. Their total claims aggregate $451,000,000. As a counter-measure to the anticipated claims of the Allies the Rumanian Government declared recently that unless its quota participation in the reparation payment was increased Rumania's bills would be left unpaid.

Despite the opposition and reprisals the Rumanian Government is determined to execute the mining law as it stands and is not inclined to submit an amendment to it, taking off its edge, as has been suggested by the protesting governments. Tancred Constantinescu described the Rumanian attitude toward the opposition of the foreign governments in these words published in the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna:

> It is estimated that in addition to the oil-fields already exploited and the reserves set aside for future exploitation there is in Rumania at least 350,000 acres of oil-producing territory which, by the new law, belongs to the nation. In the future, naturally, we shall not be able to grant oil concessions to those foreign corporations and individuals that do not comply with the regulations of the law. It is equally natural that we were within our rights in adopting the mining law and that we are within our rights in executing it. No country can be deprived of its right freely to dispose of its own property. In accordance with this principle the Rumanian Government will grant concessions, so far as this is possible, for the exploitation of the nation's resources to Rumanian corporations and individuals only. It is decidedly unjust that foreign concerns have monopolized the oil industry in our country and that they have not allowed Rumanian capital to participate in it. The majority of the shares of the greatest and wealthiest oil corporations are held abroad. Some of them are not even listed on the Bucharest bourse, so that Rumanian capital seeking investment opportunities has no access to them. . . . On the whole, the new law protects Rumania's interests.

Communism in the *Evening Post*

AN editorial in the Moscow *Pravda* of July 25 comments on the difficulties confronting the London conference, then still in progress, and seizes with delight upon certain remarks of the New York *Evening Post* of July 22 on the role of the bankers. We quote the following paragraphs:

> Who is the decisive power in all this scramble and all these disputes as to the method for robbing Germany a little more and the proportions in which the booty is to be divided?
>
> We call the attention of our readers to a blunt answer in a serious American newspaper, the New York *Evening Post*, representing the right conservative wing of the generally sufficiently conservative Republican Party of the United States. This answer is so good that it will probably be included in Marxian textbooks on the state and law. "Finance," says this newspaper, "has always manipulated political affairs."
>
> And if something new was manifested at the London conference, it simply resolves itself into this:
>
> "Previously the financiers acted under cover, unobtrusively, now they openly dominate."
>
> These admissions are somewhat indiscreet. It is a sober, realistic, and true evaluation of the democratic liberties. Let all the poor fools there imagine that they are not the hundredth spoke in the modern, democratic government wheel; let them amuse themselves with the illusion that they decide and conduct wars, conclude peace, appoint and overthrow governments. To the financiers it is clear how all this is actually carried on.
>
> With egregious naivete, as if written for absolute idiots, the paper further explains that the financiers have come to the conference in order to save the world. In its opinion, the American financiers were forced to dominate at the conference, because "the statesmen of democracy have appeared impotent to do anything other than pull down the structure over their heads."
>
> But who fails to understand, especially after the authoritative elucidation of a serious American newspaper, that through Herriot and the French Chambers, and through MacDonald and the English Parliament, the French and English financiers "manipulate political affairs" just as surely as do the American financiers through Coolidge and Congress? And who fails to understand that the power of the French and English financiers was reduced to the impotence of their attorneys and official representatives, the MacDonalds and Herriots, when the latter pretended to imagine that they could ignore the sacred right of the American financiers to a share of the profits from the European robbery and destruction?
>
> Very true also are the subsequent arguments of the same American paper. You wonder if Marxians have not penetrated into its editorial office, and if the author of this article is not perchance under the influence of Lenin's book, "The State and Revolution." Please read what this paper says:
>
> "American finance is a power virtually independent of politics, a power that owes only shadowy allegiance to any government."
>
> Irrefutable truths! Can financiers be dependent upon politics if they have always controlled and continue to control political affairs? Can they be dependent upon politics if, as this newspaper maintains, "world finance is the most potent and effective force in international affairs"? Not finance is dependent upon politics, but politics upon finance. We have been arguing this for some time, not only in our Communist colleges and slogans, but even in the most elementary political textbooks. . . .
>
> Yes, this force, fortunately for itself, is "independent" of any bourgeois government, because all bourgeois governments, no matter how often they may be replaced, no matter what democratic, conservative, liberal, or "labor" labels they may tack onto themselves, are all equally in the chains of "world finance."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED